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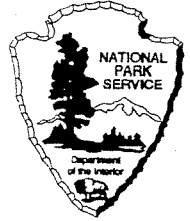
INTERMOUNTAIN REGION

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IN REPLY REFER TO: IMDE-CNR

MEMORANDUM

TO: SAND CREEK MASSACRE PROJECT TEAM

FROM: CHRISTINE WHITACRE, TEAM CAPTAIN

DATE: JANUARY 29, 1999

SUBJECT: DRAFT RESEARCH DESIGN;
INTERIM HISTORY REPORT NO. 2; AND
DR. GARY ROBERTS' RESEARCH REPORT

Enclosed for your review is the draft research design for the Sand Creek Massacre Site Location and Study Project. As you know, we must have a completed research design before we can begin archeological work in the field. Please review this draft and send your comments to me by March 5. We are hoping to finalize the research design by the end of March.

Also enclosed is "Interim Report No. 2: Historical Research on the Location of the Sand Creek Massacre Site." The purpose of this report is to distribute to the project team, as efficiently as possible, the results of our research on the historical documentation related to the site location of the Sand Creek Massacre. Please remember that these interim reports are "works-in-progress," and reflect only the research that we have accumulated to date. The historical research is an ongoing effort, and we are planning to distribute at least one additional interim report before Lead Historian Jerry Greene prepares his draft history report in May 1999. Also, it has come to my attention that not everyone received a copy of the first interim report on this research, so I have also enclosed for each of you a copy of that report. (Please contact me if you need additional copies of either report).

Also enclosed for your information is a copy of the report that Dr. Gary Roberts of Abraham Baldwin College (GA) prepared as a result of the trip that he and William Dawson took to the National Archives in Washington, D.C.

If you have any questions or comments about any of these materials, please call me at (303) 969-2885.

Enclosures

(INTERIM REPORT No. 2)

**HISTORICAL RESEARCH
ON THE LOCATION OF
THE SAND CREEK MASSACRE SITE**

**By Lysa Wegman-French and Christine Whitacre
Historians, Intermountain Support Office-Denver**

January 29, 1999

Attached is a compilation of the historical research that we have found, to date, regarding the Sand Creek Massacre. Our scope of work limited our efforts to those archival resources in the State of Colorado. This report updates, but does not repeat nor supercede, the Interim Report No. 1, of September 1998.

The following archival material is organized into four basic categories:

- 1) Sources from people who were at the Sand Creek Massacre;
- 2) Sources from people who were at the site within 5 years after the Sand Creek Massacre;
- 3) Sources from people who were at the site before or up to 35 years (up to 1900) after the massacre; and
- 4) Post-1900 sources about the massacre site, and/or general background information.

There are eight map attachments to this report.

We would like to thank the many people who have contributed historical information to us. This includes William Dawson, David Halaas, Jack Hall, Jack McDermitt, and Tom Meier, who gave us copies of historical materials that they had researched over the years.

SOURCES FROM PEOPLE WHO WERE AT THE SAND CREEK MASSACRE

The following sources are listed under general categories in terms of what is being described – distance between Ft. Lyon and the Sand Creek Massacre, description of the Indian village, etc. Note that many of the following first-hand accounts were given soon after the massacre; others were not recorded until many years later.

DISTANCE AND DIRECTION TO THE SITE

The troop under Col. John M. Chivington left Fort Lyon, on the Arkansas River, on the evening of November 28, 1864. They rode throughout the night and arrived at Black Kettle's camp in the morning of November 29.

General Direction

"About 7 o'clock the same evening I started from that place [Fort Lyon] . . . and travelled in a northeasterly course. At daylight we came in sight of a large village . . ." *Clark Dunn, Second Lieutenant 1st Colorado Cavalry, Commanding Company E, to Colonel Chivington, First Colorado Cavalry, Camp South Bend of Big Sandy, Colorado Territory, 30 November 1864, Report of Lt. Dunn, "Massacre of Cheyenne Indians," 55.*

"At about half past seven the word forward was passed along the lines, and the column commenced moving in a northerly direction, leaving the river at about a right angle. No road was visible, and we had no intimation of our true destination until we came upon the well worn trails that marked the line of Indian travel." *[George A. Wells?], Correspondence." (Central City, Colorado) Miners' Register, letter dated 28 November 1864, published 4 January 1865.*

"Nov. 28: Made a march north of Fort Lyon following an Indian Trail." *John Lewis Dailey, diary, Denver Public Library, Western History Department.*

"I joined Colonel Chivington's command that evening about 8 o'clock, in company with companies G and K under Major Anthony. I immediately marched about north, marched all night, arrived at the village of Cheyennes and Arapahoes just before sunrise. . . ." *Captain Silas S. Soule, veteran battalion first Colorado Cavalry, 15 February 1865, "Sand Creek Massacre" p. 11*

"They were encamped on Sand creek, about twenty-five or thirty miles from Fort Lyon. A few days after Wynkoop left I went out with John Smith from Fort Lyon to the camp to trade." *Edmond G. Guerrier, son of a Cheyenne woman and a Frenchman, he was at village when it was attacked, 25 May 1865, "The Chivington Massacre," p. 66.*

"I was employed as guide and interpreter at Fort Lyon by Major Anthony. Colonel Chivington [end of page 95] ordered me to accompany him on his way to Sand creek. . . . We left Fort Lyon at eight o'clock in the evening, and came on to the Indian camp at daylight the next morning. . . ." *Robert Bent, "The Chivington Massacre," p. 96.*

"Question. In what direction did you march, to reach the Indians on Sand Creek, from Fort Lyon?

"Answer. I could not answer that question as regards to the points of the compass. I should judge we marched in a line directly from the Arkansas River, our road forming a

right angle with the river. It was dark when we left Fort Lyon.” *Harry Richmond, second lieutenant, company B, third Colorado cavalry, 16 May, 1865, “Sand Creek Massacre,” p. 212.*

“I met Major Anthony as the command was between Fort Lyon and the commissary building. On shaking hands with me, and in reply to ‘Where are the Indians?’ asked by me, he said, ‘I am damned glad you have come; I have got them over here about twenty-five miles . . .’” *Harry Richmond, second lieutenant, company B, third Colorado cavalry, 16 May, 1865, “Sand Creek Massacre,” p. 212*

[Hearing a conversation between Chivington and Major Anthony, Anthony] “stated that the Indians were on Sand creek, about twenty miles from Fort Lyon; but afterwards understood that he was mistaken, as they were about forty miles from Fort Lyon.” *Jacob Downing, major, first cavalry of Colorado, [also Chivington’s attorney] “The Chivington Massacre,” p. 69.*

“We set out at 9 o’clock one night, accompanied by a battery of mountain howitzers, following a trail running north from the fort. . . . I was sound asleep . . . and did not awake till we rode into a pond of water some 500 yards wide. We halted here and filled our canteens.” *C.B. Horton, “Survivor Tells of the ‘Chivington Massacre,’” 24 July 1903.*

“The Sand cr. vill. Was on an Indian trail, leading N. from old Ft. Lyon; the course was due N. (by the N. star) and in one place Rob. Bent led the party through Cheyenne Lake.” *Cragin interview with Eugene Weston, November 14, 1907, Cragin Notebooks (X, 11).*

“At eight o’clock that night, the regiment took up its line of march across the prairie in a direction almost due north from Fort Lyon. . . . we traveled rapidly from the start. It was walk, trot, gallop, dismount and lead, all night long. . . . Sometime after midnight, the regiment’s guide led us through one of the shallow lakes that are so plentiful on the plains of that region.” *Irving Howbert, company G, 3rd Regiment, Memories of a Lifetime in the Pikes Peak Region, 1925, p. 122.*

“Dear Sir: Your letter of the 8th just received, and in answer to your question in regard to where the Sand Creek battle ground was with reference to the old railroad line from Kit Carson to West Las Animas, I will say that it ran across west some twenty miles or more. Our battle was on Big Sandy, about forty miles from Las Animas, and about six miles north from where the town or station of Chivington now is, on the Missouri Pacific Railroad running into Pueblo.” [Note: The Dawson Bend is approximately 8 miles north and 1 ½ miles east of the town of Chivington.] *In a May 30, 1915, letter to the editor of the New York Times, William B. Thom cited the above letter he received from O.H.P. Baxter, dated February 11, 1910. Irving Howbert College, Colorado College.*

30–40 Miles

“Nine Cheyenne Indians to-day sent in, wishing to see me. They state that 600 of that tribe are now 35 miles north of here, coming towards the post . . .” *Major Scott I. Anthony, 1st Cavalry of Colorado, Fort Lyon, to A.A.A.G, District of Upper Arkansas, Fort Riley, Kansas, 6 November 1864.*

“Question. How far from Fort Lyon were Black Kettle and his people encamped when you made the attack?

“Answer. Between 30 and 40 miles.” *Major Scott Anthony, 1st Colorado cavalry, 14 March 1865, “Massacre of Cheyenne Indians,” p. 24*

“They attacked the village, which was 30 miles distant, and fired into it about daylight.” *Samuel G. Colley, Indian agent for the Cheyenne and Arapahoes, not at massacre, 7 March 1865, “The Chivington Massacre,” p. 29.*

“The commanding officer saw proper to keep them [the Indians] some thirty or forty miles distant from the fort, for fear of some conflict . . . He advised them to go out on what is called Sand creek, about forty miles, a little east of north from Fort Lyon. . . . On the morning of the 29th, between daylight and sunrise—nearer sunrise than daybreak—a large number of troops were discovered from three-quarters of a mile to a mile below the village. . . .” *John S. Smith, U.S. Indian interpreter and special Indian agent at Fort Lyon, 14 March 1865, “Massacre of Cheyenne Indians,” p. 5.*

“ . . . I visited my father’s ranch, then came back to Black Kettle’s village, which was now on the Big Bend of Sand Creek, about thirty-five miles northeast of Ft. Lyon. We had about one hundred lodges of Cheyennes (about five persons in each lodge), and ten lodges of Southern Arapahoes . . .” *George Bent, “Forty Years with the Cheyennes.”*

40 Miles

“Marched last eve at 8 O.ck for Sand Creek distant 40 Miles. . .” *Hay Sayre diary, November 29, 1864.*

“ . . .After a march of forty miles last night, I at daylight this morning attacked Cheyenne villages of one hundred and thirty lodges . . .” *Letter (telegram?) [From:] Headquarters District of Colorado, in the Field, Cheyenne country, South Bend Big Sandy, November 29, 1864, J.M. Chivington, Colonel Commanding District of Colorado, and first Indian Expedition, [To:] Major General S. R Curtis, Department of Kansas, Fort Leavenworth, Reprinted in “Sand Creek Massacre,” p. 165.*

“The command then proceeded in a northeasterly direction, travelling all night, and by daylight of the 29th of November striking Sand creek about forty (40) miles from Fort Lyon. . . .” *J.M. Chivington to General _____, Second Report of Colonel Chivington, 16 December 1864, “Massacre of Cheyenne Indians,” 49.*

“Had fight with Cheyennes about forty miles north of Fort Lyon.” *J.M. Chivington to Gov. John Evans, 7 December 1864. Printed in “Sand Creek Massacre,” p. 167*

“ . . .about forty miles north of Fort Lyon . . .” *J.M. Chivington, 9 February 1865, “Sand Creek Massacre,” p. 5.*

“ . . . about forty miles north of Fort Lyon, Colorado Territory.” *John M. Chivington, 26 April 1865, “Massacre of Cheyenne Indians,” p. 102*

“I . . . and one hundred twenty-five men, and two howitzers, joined Colonel Chivington’s brigade one mile below Fort Lyon, at 8 o’clock p.m., November 28, and proceeded with his command, on Indian expedition, in a northeasterly direction, striking Sand creek at daylight of the 29th November, forty miles from Fort Lyon.” *Scott J. Anthony, Major First Colorado Cavalry, Commanding Battalion, to A.A.A. General, in the field, 1 December 1864, “Massacre of Cheyenne Indians,” 53-54.*

"In the mean time I was writing to district headquarters constantly, stating to them that there was a band of Indians within forty miles of the post . . ." *Major Scott Anthony, 1st Colorado cavalry, 14 March 1865, "Massacre of Cheyenne Indians," p. 18.*

". . . the engagement with the Indians on Sand creek, forty (40) miles north of Fort Lyon . . ." *George L. Shoup, colonel third Colorado Cavalry to Col. J. M. Chivington, Commanding District of Colorado, 7 December 1864, in the field, "Massacre of Cheyenne Indians," 50.*

". . . made a march of forty miles to South Bend of Big Sandy, Colorado Territory." *J.J. Kennedy, Second Lieutenant, 1st Colorado Cavalry, Commanding Co. C. to Colonel J.M. Chivington, Commanding Indian Expedition, Camp, South Bend of Big Sandy, 30 November 1864, Report of Lt. Kennedy, , "Massacre of Cheyenne Indians," 54-55.*

"I reported between 7 and 8 with forty-four men to Major Anthony, and soon after joined Colonel Chivington's command, and started from Fort Lyon in a northerly direction. Marched forty or forty-five miles, and between daylight and sunrise came upon an Indian village consisting of about one hundred lodges." *Second Lieutenant Joseph A. Cramer, veteran battalion first Colorado cavalry, 28 February 1865, "Sand Creek Massacre," p. 46.*

"Question. What time in the day or night was the attack made?

"Answer. Between daybreak and sunrise. . . [T]he camp over on Sand creek; it is called Big Sandy, about forty miles northeast of Fort Lyon. . . ." *John S. Smith, 8 March 1865, "The Chivington Massacre," p. 41.*

". . . about forty miles northeast of Fort Lyon." *George E. Hyde, Life of George Bent: Written From His Letters, p. 151.*

"The Indians were said to be about forty miles northward . . . The night was a clear one, but no moon. Our course was almost exactly under the north star most of the time, but towards morning veered a little to the right or north by the northeast." *Morse Coffin, letters to The Colorado Sun (Greeley, Colo.) Dec. 1878- Feb. 1879.*

45 Miles

"He [Chivington] left camp about 8 o'clock in the evening, and arrived at the Indian camp between daylight and sunrise; distance about forty-five miles; marched in columns of fours." *Captain S.S. Soule, veteran batallion first Colorado Cavalry, 15 February 1865, "Sand Creek Massacre" p. 12*

". . . passing a distance of about forty-five miles, reaching the Indian village about sun up . . ." *Pressly Talbot, captain, third regiment of Colorado, "The Chivington Massacre," p. 68.*

"The Command made forty-five miles that night." *Andrew J. Templeton, Second Lieutenant of Company G, Third Colorado Volunteer Cavalry. "Life and Reminiscences."*

"This place was about 45 miles due north of old Fort Lyon. . . . The fortified place of the Indians on Sand creek was about 40 miles west of the dividing line between Colorado and Kansas. . . ." *Participant Cornelius J. Ballou quoted in "The Sand Creek Affair," National Tribune (Washington, D.C), 23 November 1905.*

"At 9 p.m. we started north . . . [the scouts] said the Indians were camped on Sand Creek, about forty-five miles north . . . We kept a rapid march, with a battery of mountain

howitzers, along a dim buffalo path, until about 4 o'clock in the morning, when we suddenly came to a lake about three hundred yards wide. There we halted for a short time to let our horses drink and refresh themselves, but soon we were on the march again, sometimes in a trot, and then in a fast walk." *David C. Mansell, Company A, 3rd regiment, in "When the Indians were Tamed at Sand Creek." Winners of the West, 15 December 1925 or 26.*

[Weston recalled that] "Rob. Bent led the party through Cheyenne Lake." *Cragin interview with Eugene Weston, 1907, Cragin notebooks, X, 11.*

"During the night we were led through a lake, and whether this was accidental, or as many supposed, a design of the guide for the purpose of wetting the ammunition of the artillery, I have no means of knowing." *Morse Coffin, letters to The Colorado Sun (Greeley, Colo.) Dec. 1878- Feb. 1879.*

As noted elsewhere in the report, one of the George Hyde's maps show that the Indian trail used by Chivington crossed the "Nee Skah Res[ervoir]. The Neeskah Reservoirs were created after the massacre, and are extant today.

"The 'Chivington massacre' on Sand creek, about 60 miles east of Colorado City . . ." *Colorado Springs Gazette, 26 September 1906. [They are perhaps confused with the headwaters of the Big Sandy Creek in Bijou Basin.]*

SITE DESCRIPTIONS

Different Names for Sand Creek and its Bends.

"Sand Creek (of the Chivington fight) was, by the Mexicans, formerly called *Arroyo Manteca* (meaning Lard creek or Grease creek)." *Cragin notebooks II:5.*

Letter (telegram?) [From:] "Headquarters District of Colorado, in the Field, Cheyenne country, **South Bend Big Sandy** [emphasis added], November 29, 1864, J.M. Chivington, Colonel Commanding District of Colorado, and first Indian Expedition, [To:] Major General S. R Curtis, Department of Kansas, Fort Leavenworth," *Reprinted in "Sand Creek Massacre," p. 165*

Letter [From:] "J.M. Chivington, Colonel, Commanding Colorado Expedition against Indians on Plains, In the Field, **on Big Bend of Sandy Creek** [emphasis added], Col. Ter., November 29, 1864
[To:] Charles Wheeler, A.A.A. General, Headquarters District of Colorado, Denver." *Reprinted in "Massacre of Cheyenne Indians," p. 48*

"... at a place known as **Big Bend of Sandy** [emphasis added], about forty miles north of Fort Lyon, Colorado Territory." *John M. Chivington, 26 April 1865, "Massacre of Cheyenne Indians," p. 102.*

"... north of Fort Lyon, on the **south branch of the Big Sandy** [emphasis added], ...
"[Is it possible Chivington intended to say bend instead of branch?] *J.M. Chivington, 9 February 1865, "Sand Creek Massacre," p. 5.*

[Report of Lt. Dunn, written at] “Camp **South Bend of Big Sandy**” [emphasis added].
Clark Dunn, Second Lieutenant 1st Colorado Cavalry, Commanding Company E, to Colonel Chivington, First Colorado cavalry, 30 November 1864, “Massacre of Cheyenne Indians,” 55.

Village

These site descriptions focus on Black Kettle’s village on the Big Sandy Creek.

“This place was well known to all the Cheyennes and Arapahos and they used it as a camping ground for many years. There were several chiefs in our camp, and instead of being all camped together in one large village, each band was camped by itself with its lodges grouped together and separated by a little open space from the camps of the other bands.” *George E. Hyde, Life of George Bent: Written From His Letters, p. 151.*

“We had been encamped on the north side of the river.” *John S. Smith, U.S. Indian interpreter and special Indian agent at Fort Lyon, 14 March 1865, “Massacre of Cheyenne Indians,” p. 5-6.*

“Question. Where was the Indian camp with reference to Sand creek – in the bend of the creek or on the banks thereof?

“Answer. On the banks.

“Question. On which bank of the creek was the Indian camp located?

“Answer. On the northern banks. . .” *Capt. S.S. Soule, 20 February 1865, “Sand Creek Massacre,” p. 23*

“Question. On which bank of the creek was the Indian village located?

“Answer. On the north bank.” *Second Lieutenant Joseph A. Cramer, veteran battalion first Colorado cavalry, 28 February 1865, “Sand Creek Massacre,” p. 63*

“I counted the lodges to the number of one hundred and fifteen. There were some few lodges about half a mile below the main village that I did not count, and concluded there were about one hundred and twenty lodges in all.” *Private David H. Louderback, first cavalry of Colorado, 31 March 1865 [had been at village with John Smith and Watson Clark], “Sand Creek Massacre,” p. 138. [If there were lodges downstream from the main village, why didn’t the troops encounter them on the way?]*

“...[C]ompany H, of the first cavalry of Colorado, came up in line directly in front on the right of the village . . . The next Indian that came out of the village from the side where we were on was White Antelope. He came running directly towards company H . . . He got within about fifty yards of the company . . . I got off and fired at the Indian, the ball taking effect in the groin. He turned and ran back towards the village, and Billy Henderson, of H company, shot the Indian through the head when he was about the middle of the creek. . . .

“Question. How far from the Indian village was company H when fired at White Antelope?

“Answer. About one hundred yards.

“Question. Was White Antelope between company H and the village, and was he alone?

“Answer. He was between company H and the village, and he was alone. [According to this account, the village was less than fifty yards from the creek.]” *Alexander F. Safely, private, first cavalry of Colorado [had been a soldier for 3-1/2 years], 19 May 1865, “Sand Creek Massacre,” p. 221-22.*

"White Antelope was the first Indian killed, within a hundred yards of where I was in camp at the time. . . ." *John S. Smith, 8 March 1865, "The Chivington Massacre," p. 41.*

"White Antelope was killed in the bed of the creek. . . ." *Private David H. Louderback, first cavalry of Colorado, 31 March 1865 [had been at village with John Smith and Watson Clark], "Sand Creek Massacre," p. 138.*

"White Antelope laid in the bed of the creek opposite the lower end of the main village, and opposite to War bonnet's lodge. . . . The others [seven dead Indians] laid between White Antelope and the upper part of the village, where they had the main fight." *David H. Louderback, 31 March 1865 [had been at village with John Smith and Watson Clark], "Sand Creek Massacre," p. 140.*

"Question. . . How large a tract of ground did the village cover?

"Answer. I do know exactly. It was about a quarter of a mile long, I should judge." *Alexander F. Safely, private, first cavalry of Colorado [had been a soldier for 3-1/2 years], 19 May 1865, "Sand Creek Massacre," p. 222.*

"I should judge the [Indian] camp was a half a mile long, extending up and down the creek, situated between two very high ridges in a valley. Their camp was on the north side of the creek. . . ." *Sgt. Lucian Palmer, company C, veteran battalion first Colorado cavalry, under Major Anthony's command during massacre, 1 April 1865, "Sand Creek Massacre," p. 143.*

"When we reached the sand, in full view of the Indian camp, and distant from it about half a mile, the command was halted and ordered to throw off all superfluous luggage, such as blankets, overcoats, grubs, &c. . . . The instant all were ready, we were 'double-quickened' through the deep sand, to near the edge of the Indian village, which was located on the east bank of the creek. The creek was a bed of dry sand, except here and there pools of water. . . we proceeded through the village on a walk. I think the town at this time was entirely deserted by the Indians, as not one was to be seen thereabouts. . . ." *Morse Coffin, letters to The Colorado Sun (Greeley, Colo.) Dec. 1878 - Feb. 1879.*

"From nearly opposite the village, and extending up the creek in a north-north-west direction, for, say a half mile or more, the bed of the creek was dotted more or less thickly with moving humanity." *Morse Coffin, letters to The Colorado Sun (Greeley, Colo.) Dec. 1878 - Feb. 1879.*

"The creek was nearly dry, there being but little water in it, and the Indian camp was on the creek bottom. Before making the attack, they stopped and took off their overcoats, blankets, knapsacks, and all unnecessary luggage. . . . The Indians first ran up back of the village and formed in two lines. The troops then began firing upon them with a howitzer. The first shell burst over their heads, and the next went over them. They then scattered, and took to the rifle pits. Had long rifle pits, one running along the base of a steep bank." *Chubbuck, Theo. Interview (dictation), August 30th, 1886, Loveland, Colorado (H.H. Bancroft Collection, University of Colorado at Boulder Libraries).*

"Mr. Weston counted carefully the tepees in Black Kettle's village at Sand Cr., 1864 & they were just 100 in number; Left Hand had 8 tepees of Araps. ¾ mi down the creek." *Cragin interview with Eugene Weston, November 14, 1907, Cragin Notebooks (X, 11).*

Geography and Topographical Features of Massacre Site

Some geographical information is also included in other sections, such as "Location of Howitzer Batteries" and the "Location of cavalymen and Indians."

"Question. What kind of country was it?

"Answer. Prairie country, slightly rolling; grass very short. . . ." *Major Scott Anthony, 1st Colorado cavalry, 14 March 1865, "Massacre of Cheyenne Indians."* p. 22.

"A lodge trail ran from near Fort Lyon in a northeasterly direction to the head of the Smoky Hill, and we encamped where this trail crossed Sand Creek." *George E. Hyde, Life of George Bent: Written From His Letters, p. 151.*

"I got up at daylight to go out where our ponies were left in the evening . . . I started across the creek but when I got up the hill I met King Fisher running back toward the camp. . . . I looked toward Ft Lyon Trail, south of the village, and saw a long black line moving toward us. . . ." *Little Bear, Bent-Hyde Papers.*

"It was not light yet next morning when I was awakened by people shouting that soldiers were coming. . . . By the dim light I could see the soldiers, charging down on the camp from each side . . . At first the people stood huddled in the village, but as the soldiers came on they broke and fled. . . . The main body of Indians retreated up the creek. I joined a party of about ten middle-aged Cheyenne warriors who were making for the sand hills west of the creek, but the soldiers' fire was too hot for us and we were forced to turn back into the stream's bed again. Next we started up the creek with two companies of cavalry following us and keeping up a hot running-fight all the way. We passed a great many dead Indians, lying in the wet sand of the creek's bottom . . ." *George Bent, Forty Years with the Cheyennes.*"

"We continued our march and coming over the brow of a hill, we saw the camp of the Indians down on the banks of the creek." *C.B. Horton, "Survivor Tells of the 'Chivington Massacre,'" 24 July 1903.*

"Just rising the brow of a little eminence, we commanded a view of the gently sloping country, for a distance seemingly of about five miles, at the termination of which ran a large stream, with a channel a fourth of a mile wide, but filled with nought but sand and driftwood, in clumps. Here upon the banks the white tepas [sic] of an Indian village appeared as little dots upon the great mass of brown before us." [*George A. Wells?*], "Correspondence." (*Central City, Colorado*) *Miners' Register*, letter dated 28 November 1864, published 4 January 1865.

"We were ordered on double quick time and soon came to the brow of a hill leading down to the camp. . . . The Indians could be seen from this point. . . . Then we rushed down the hill in double quick time, and in a few moments, formed in line of battle at the edge of the creek, which was about 150 yards wide with high banks on the other side running in from the south and west. The creek was dry, only now and then the water showing at the surface up through the sand." *David C. Mansell, company A, 3rd regiment, in "When the Indians were Tamed at Sand Creek." Winners of the West, 15 December 1925 or 26.*

"Just as the sun was coming up over the eastern horizon, we reached the top of a ridge, and away off down in the valley to the northwest, we saw a great number of Indian tents, forming a village of unusual size. . . . [Part of his battalion was sent to capture horses.] The remainder of our battalion then started directly for the Indian village, which lay over

a little ridge to the north. In the meantime, the main part of the command had marched rapidly northward down the slope to Sand Creek, along the northern bank of which, and a mile or more to the westward, the Indian camp was located. Crossing the creek, the regiment proceeded along the north bank until near the village, where they met the Indians, and then the battle began. At the same time our battalion, after capturing the horses, was coming in from the south. This left an opening for the Indians to the westward, up the valley of Sand Creek, and also to the northward, across the hills toward the Smoky Hill River. Before our battalion had crossed the low ridge that cut off a view of the village, the firing had become general. . . .” *Irving Howbert, company G, 3rd Regiment, Memories of a Lifetime in the Pikes Peak Region, 1925, p. 122-124.*

“At daylight we came in sight of a large village . . . nearly two miles north of us. We immediately proceeded to the attack by moving down a small ravine and making a charge on the village from the north side . . .” *Clark Dunn, Second Lieutenant 1st Colorado Cavalry, Commanding Company E, to Colonel Chivington, First Colorado Cavalry, Camp South Bend of Big Sandy, Colorado Territory, 30 November 1864, Report of Lt. Dunn, “Massacre of Cheyenne Indians,” 55.*

“ . . . striking Sand creek at daylight . . . we came upon a herd of Indian horses, and I was sent forward with my battalion to capture stock. After proceeding about one mile we came in sight of an Indian camp, some two miles further. . . .” [So the village could be seen from about 2 miles away, but not from 3 miles away from the south.] *Scott J. Anthony, Major First Colorado Cavalry, Commanding Battalion, to A.A.A. General, in the field, 1 December 1864, “Massacre of Cheyenne Indians,” 53-54.*

“ . . . and sent them to capture some twenty (20) ponies, which I could see some four (4) miles to the right of the village; . . .” [So visibility was at least four miles to the east.] *T.G. Cree, Captain Commanding 3rd Battalion, 3rd Colorado Cavalry to Colonel George L. Shoup, 6 December 1864, Camp Skedaddle, “Massacre of Cheyenne Indians,” 53.*

“ . . . then [I] rushed out [of my lodge] and joined a passing group of middle-aged Cheyenne men. They ran toward the west, away from the creek, making for the sand hills. . . . after a short time we broke and ran back toward the creek, jumping into the dry bed of the stream, above the camps. Hardly had we reached this shelter under the high bank of the creek when a company of cavalry rode up We ran about two miles up the creek, I think, and then came to a place where the banks were very high and steep. . . . the older men and women had dug holes or pits under the banks . . .” *George E. Hyde, Life of George Bent: Written From His Letters, p. 152-153.*

“Our party was at the west end of the camps, not one hundred yards from the lodges. At this point the creek made a bend, coming from the north and turning toward the southeast just at the upper end of the village. As the soldiers began to advance, we ran across to the west side of the creek to get under another high bank over there, but just as we reached this bank another body of cavalry came up . . . Big Head and the rest . . . ran on toward the west, but passing over a hill they ran into another body of troops . . . I started running up the creek . . . but I had not gone far when a party of about twenty cavalymen got into the dry bed of the stream behind me. They chased me up the creek for about two miles . . . and [I] came to the place where a large party of the people had taken refuge in holes dug in the sand up against the sides of the high banks.” *Little Bear quoted in George E. Hyde, Life of George Bent: Written From His Letters, p. 153-154.*

"The cavalry were around on the different hills firing at the Indians; the Indians had left the village . . ." *Corporal James J. Adams, company C, veteran battalion first Colorado cavalry, 4 April 1865, "Sand Creek Massacre," p. 149.*

"The warriors were killed out in the bluff . . ." *Amos C. Miksch, corporal, company E, veteran battalion, 1st Colorado cavalry, "The Chivington Massacre," p. 75.*

"There were Indians killed all around over the bluffs." *George M. Roan, company C, veteran battalion first Colorado cavalry, 1 April 1865, "Sand Creek Massacre," p. 142.*

"Question. What reason have you for thinking that Indians escaped after the fight? ...
"Answer. I saw the Indians on the hills." *James Dean Cannon, first lieutenant first New Mexico volunteers, company K [on duty at Fort Lyon since ca September 1864], "Sand Creek Massacre," p. 114.*

"I simply state that some [Indians] got away, because I saw some on the hill after the fight was over, in the afternoon. . . ." *Corporal James J. Adams, company C, veteran battalion first Colorado cavalry, 4 April 1865, "Sand Creek Massacre," p. 151.*

"What is the course of Sand creek at the place where the battle took place on the 29th of November, 1864?

"Answer. About east and west." *Second Lieutenant Joseph A. Cramer, veteran battalion first Colorado cavalry, 28 February 1865, "Sand Creek Massacre," p. 63.*

"Question. What is the general course of Sand creek at the point Black Kettle was encamped?

"Answer. At the camp, I think it was about northeast and southwest; the creek takes a bend there where the battle-ground was. The general course of the creek I think is about northwest and southeast. . . ." *Captain S.S. Soule, veteran battalion first Colorado Cavalry, 15 February 1865, "Sand Creek Massacre" p. 13.*

"Question. How high were the banks of Sand creek at the place where the battle occurred?

"Answer. All the way from two to fifteen and twenty feet. . . .

"Question. How high were the banks of the creek at the place where the camp was located?

"Answer. The bank I should say was from two to five feet high." *Capt. S.S. Soule, 20 February 1865, "Sand Creek Massacre," p. 2.*

"This stream was usually dry, except after heavy rains, but in a few places there was running water in the creek all the year round. Our camp was near one of these places where there was running water . . ." *George E. Hyde, Life of George Bent: Written From His Letters, p. 151.*

"The Creek was very nearly dry, but a very little water running in it." *David H. Louderback, 31 March 1865 [had been at village with John Smith and Watson Clark], "Sand Creek Massacre," p. 139.*

"[We] rode down to the creek, dismounted in the bed of it, which at that season of the year was dry, and there made active preparations for the attack." *C.B. Horton, "Survivor Tells of the 'Chivington Massacre,'" 24 July 1903.*

“They were terribly mutilated, lying there in the water and sand; most of them in the bed of the creek, dead and dying, making many struggles. They were so badly mutilated and covered with sand and water . . .” *John S. Smith, U.S. Indian interpreter and special Indian agent at Fort Lyon, 14 March 1865, “Massacre of Cheyenne Indians,” p. 8.*

LOCATION OF HOWITZER BATTERIES

Details on the howitzers are included to help determine where associated artifacts might be found in the field.

General Descriptions

“[Chivington] appeared at Fort Lyon with over 700 mounted men and two pieces of artillery . . . Major Anthony joined him with 125 men and two pieces of artillery.” *B.F. Wade, Chairman of the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War, in report of the committee, “Massacre of the Cheyenne Indians,” p. iii.*

“The artillery stopped on the high ground looking up the creek . . . While we were running down the far bank the artillery opened up with grape and canister on a big bunch of Indians in the weeds beyond the village.” *P.M. “Lant” Williams (of Bennington, KS) in “Veterans of 1864 Revisit Scene of Indian Battle on the Banks of Sand Creek, Colo. 26 July 1908,” Denver Post by C. E. Van Loan.*

“[At the beginning of the action] Col. Chivington ordered the gunners to the front and put the mountain battery to throwing shells up the creek into the Indian camp.” *David C. Mansell, company A, 3rd regiment, in “When the Indians were Tamed at Sand Creek.” Winners of the West, 15 December 1925 or 26.*

“Companies were immediately dispatched upon both banks, but it was not until they [the Indians] had fled upwards of a mile before they were arrested. And now commenced the conflict in terrible earnest. – The battery which was in position to enfilade the whole bed of the creek, now belched forth its thundering notes, and grape and shell told fearfully for a little time upon the savages, but from the scarcity of good ammunition the artillery firing soon ceased, and small arms did the work.” *[George A. Wells?], “Correspondence.” (Central City, Colorado) Miners’ Register, letter dated 28 November 1864, published 4 January 1865.*

Descriptions of the 1st Colorado Regiment, either Major Anthony’s battalion, company G under Lt. Baldwin, and/or Lt. Luther Wilson’s battalion, company C (includes Corporal James J. Adams)

“[O]ur company at the time was acting as artillery; we had two pieces along, with mules attached to them; we were left behind in the run; our mules could not keep up with the pieces; finally we got to the village with our artillery. We were ordered to take a position with our guns; we were ordered to shell the Indians out from under the banks above the village. We fired a few rounds from there, and then we were ordered to change our position, and take up a position further up the creek; took position further up the creek; used up all the ammunition we had, and then had to draw off; we left here with only sixteen rounds to the gun; the ammunition wagon was back with the train.” *Corporal James J. Adams, company C, veteran battalion first Colorado cavalry, 4 April 1865, “Sand Creek Massacre,” p. 149*

"Our battery was ordered up by Colonel Chivington to take position near the bank of the creek. On arriving at that position the main body of the Indians were several hundred yards up the creek. We threw several shells, which did not reach them. The third battery threw several shells, some of them falling among the Indians. Several companies of cavalry were upon each side of the creek firing into the Indians. Our battery was then ordered by Colonel Chivington to take another position. We threw several rounds of grape and canister at them when they were entrenching themselves on the opposite side of the creek. All this time the cavalry were firing into them briskly, no respect paid to little or big, old or young. Our battery was then ordered back, where we remained until the skirmish or fight closed." *Sgt. Lucian Palmer, company C, veteran battalion first Colorado cavalry, under Major Anthony's command during massacre, 1 April 1865, "Sand Creek Massacre," p. 143.*

"Major Anthony then moved our battalion to within about one hundred yards of the lodges, and ordered us to open fire; some firing done, when the battery came up in our rear with the third regiment and prepared for action. . . . The battery and the first and third regiments kept up firing until all the Indians were killed they could get at; until about 2 o'clock. . . ." *Captain S.S. Soule, veteran battalion first Colorado Cavalry, 15 February 1865, "Sand Creek Massacre" p. 11*

"G company [1st Cavalry under Anthony] had a battery of two twelve-pounder mountain howitzers, and on approaching the village . . . Major Anthony's battalion took a position on the southeast side, I should judge, and there waited for Colonel Shoup's third regiment to come up . . ." *Second Lieutenant Joseph A. Cramer, veteran battalion first Colorado cavalry, 28 February 1865, "Sand Creek Massacre," p. 48.*

"Lieutenant Wilson's battalion went ahead, crossed Sand creek, and opened the attack on the lower end of the camp. Major Anthony's battalion took nearly the same as Wilson's and opened fire to the left, before we got to Wilson's battalion. The battery opened fire in rear of Anthony's battalion; they prepared for action in rear of Anthony's battalion, and moved forward before firing to about where Anthony's battalion had been . . ." *Captain S.S. Soule, veteran battalion first Colorado Cavalry, 15 February 1865, "Sand Creek Massacre" p. 13.*

"Lieutenant Baldwin, in command of a battery . . . said, "Catch hold of the caisson, and keep up with us." . . . I followed along, holding on the caisson, sometimes running, sometimes walking. Finally, about a mile above the village, the troops had got a parcel of the Indians hemmed in under the bank of the river; . . . By the time I got up with the battery to the place where these Indians were surrounded there had been some considerable firing." *John S. Smith, U.S. Indian interpreter and special Indian agent at Fort Lyon, 14 March 1865, "Massacre of Cheyenne Indians," p. 5-6.*

"From that time on [the Wynkoop meeting on the Smoky Hill] our two companies would have done anything for Chief One Eye . . . A part of my company was acting as artillery unit, and we were ordered to take two pieces of artillery with us [to Sand Creek] . . . [When they realized where Col. Chivington was taking them, they informed him that they did not want One Eye or his band harmed.] "The "100 Day Men" opened fire and began to shoot the Indians down as fast as they appeared. . . . We supposed that the rest of the tribe had moved into One Eye's camp and we would have the whole band to fight. So we hurried up and to our surprise there were none there but One Eye's band. . . . The Colonel ordered us to go to a high hill and turn our artillery fire loose on the village. We went to

the place ordered, but when we got there we refused to unlimber our guns, and so we sat there and watched the massacre.” *Isaac Clarke, 1st Regiment, American Pioneer, Pp. 39, 41.*

Descriptions of the 3rd Colorado Regiment, Lt Col Leavitt Bowen’s 1st battalion, company C under Capt Morgan

“We came in sight of the village about daylight, or a little after. I think it was about sunrise, or a little after, when our company was ordered to halt in the bed of the creek, by Colonel Chivington, and strip for the fight. We then moved up a short distance and unlimbered, (I belonged to Captain Morgan’s company C, artillery,) and commenced throwing shell. . . . This firing took place near the upper end of the village; after firing a few rounds the company was ordered forward, and we took a position about three-quarters of a mile above the village; at which place, and near there, I remained the principal part of the day. . . .” *Stephen Decatur, commissary sergeant, company C, third regiment of Colorado cavalry, “Sand Creek Massacre,” p. 194-195.*

“Colonel Chivington coming up at this time with Colonel Shoup’s regiment, 3rd Colorado cavalry, and two howitzers, charged through the camp, driving the Indians completely out of their camp and into the creek, in holes or rifle-pits dug in the sand.” *Scott J. Anthony, Major First Colorado Cavalry, Commanding Battalion, to A.A.A. General, in the field, 1 December 1864, “Massacre of Cheyenne Indians,” 54.*

“From here we joined Major Anthony on the west side, where he had a number of Indians surrounded in the brakes. Nature never cast a place so well suited for their defense, although it was a death trap for them. . . . A young officer, H.H. Murphy, of company C [3rd regiment] who commanded the battery, was ordered to the scene on the east side where he had a good range, and commenced throwing shells in their stronghold . . .” *David C. Mansell, company A, 3rd regiment, in “When the Indians were Tamed at Sand Creek.” Winners of the West, 15 December 1925 or 26.*

“I received orders from Major Anthony to move my company to the left, to the bank of the creek, and there remain until further orders, so as to be out of danger of the fire from Colonel Chivington’s command.

“Question. Question. State how long after the battle began you received the order . . .

“Answer. But a few minutes.

“Question. Did you receive any other orders . . .

“Answer. . . . Was hallooed at by some one in the third regiment battery to get out of the road, as they were going to open fire. . . .

“Question. Did you move from the position . . .

“Answer. I did move from the position. I was hallooed at by some one, . . . to get out of the road, as they were going to fire the battery.” *Second Lieutenant Joseph A. Cramer, veteran battalion first Colorado cavalry, 28 February 1865, “Sand Creek Massacre,” p. 63*

Descriptions of Both Regiments

“Question. Were the two mountain howitzers brought into action at Sand Creek? If so, state what was done with them.

“Answer. They were brought into action, took position to the left of where the Fort Lyon battalion first took position, and opened fire, doing but little execution—that is, I should judge so, firing up the creek until the Indians were out of range—then took position further up the creek, firing across into the opposite bank. They were in action throughout

the fight in several different positions[;] I think I am mistaken about the Fort Lyon howitzers firing into the opposite bank; I think it was the third regiment howitzers.

“Question. Were there any other howitzers . . .

“Answer. There were two twelve-pounder howitzers with the third regiment, commanded by Captain Morgan; the third regiment took position to the rear of our first position and opened fire, then following up the Indians, taking several different positions, doing but little or no execution, to the best of my knowledge.

“Question. At the time the four howitzers were engaged were any of Colonel Chivington’s command on the opposite bank of the creek and exposed to their fire?

“Answer. Part of his command were on the opposite bank shooting over the bank at Indians below them, and I thought they were in great danger from the fire of the howitzers, at the time they were firing across the creek. I think only two guns were in action; they belonged to the third regiment. The Fort Lyon howitzers, I think, at that time were out of ammunition. . . .” *Second Lieutenant Joseph A. Cramer, veteran battalion first Colorado cavalry, 28 February 1865, “Sand Creek Massacre,” pp.49- 50.*

LOCATION OF CAVALRYMEN AND INDIANS

This information is provided to assist the archeologists in determining possible locations and extent of archeological remains. Some geographical information is included.

“We . . . came in sight of their stock on the prairie just about daylight. We went on a short distance further and came in sight of the village; when we got down to where we could get a good view of the village the command broke out so as to surround the village;” *Corporal James J. Adams, company C, veteran battalion first Colorado cavalry, 4 April 1865, “Sand Creek Massacre,” p. 149*

“The firing commenced on the northeast side of Sand creek; that was near Black Kettle’s lodge. The men, women and children rushed to the upper end of the village, and ran to the lodge of another chief at the other end, War Bonnet. . . .” *John S. Smith, 8 March 1865, “The Chivington Massacre,” p. 41.*

“Lieutenant Wilson, with a battalion of two or three companies, crossed the creek ahead of us, and opened fire on the village. Major Anthony then moved our battalion to within about one hundred yards of the lodges, and ordered us to open fire; some firing done, when the battery came up in our rear with the third regiment and prepared for action. . . . there were troops upon both sides firing across. . . . The battery and the first and third regiments kept up firing until all the Indians were killed they could get at; until about 2 o’clock. . . .” *Captain S.S. Soule, veteran battalion first Colorado Cavalry, 15 February 1865, “Sand Creek Massacre” p. 11.*

“[Arriving near the camp] We went on a gallop in columns of fours, for about two miles. Lieutenant Wilson’s battalion went ahead, crossed Sand creek, and opened the attack on the lower end of the camp. Major Anthony’s battalion took nearly the same as Wilson’s and opened fire to the left, before we got to Wilson’s battalion. The battery opened fire in rear of Anthony’s battalion; they prepared for action in rear of Anthony’s battalion, and moved forward before firing to about where Anthony’s battalion had been . . .

“Question. From what point of the compass did Lieutenant Wilson’s battalion face the camp?

“Answer. Faced the camp from the northeast and fired in a southwesterly direction. . . . [Major Anthony’s battalion] opened fire from the south or southeast. . . . I kept my squadron together, . . . and followed up the creek one or two miles – about two miles, I

guess." *Captain S.S. Soule, veteran battalion first Colorado Cavalry, 15 February 1865, "Sand Creek Massacre" p. 13.*

"Lieutenant Wilson's battalion, consisting of parts of three companies of the first cavalry of Colorado, on our approach to the Indian village, made a charge for the Indians' herd, from one-half to a mile east of the Indian village, and drove their herd in towards the village; Major Anthony's battalion, from Fort Lyon, [Cramer's battalion] following, consisting of parts of three companies of the first cavalry. . . . [O]n approaching the village Lieutenant Wilson's battalion took a position on the north side of the village and Sand creek, and immediately opened fire on the Indians. Major Anthony's battalion took a position on the southeast side, I should judge, and there waited for Colonel Shoup's third regiment to come up . . ." *Second Lieutenant Joseph A. Cramer, veteran battalion first Colorado cavalry, 28 February 1865, "Sand Creek Massacre," p. 48*

"Company G . . . pursued the demoralized and flying savages to the south and west, killing upwards of twenty Indians. . . . At the opening of the engagement I led about four hundred (400) of my men up the north side of the creek and engaged the main body of Indians, who were retreating to the west. . . . company D, pursued a band of Indians that were trying to escape to the northeast; he overtook [the Indians], killing twenty-five or thirty. . . after 10 o'clock a.m. the battle became so general and covered so wide a field that it became necessary to divide my command into small detachments, sending them in all directions to pursue the flying Indians." *George L. Shoup, colonel third Colorado Cavalry to Col. J. M. Chivington, Commanding District of Colorado, 7 December 1864, in the field, "Massacre of Cheyenne Indians," p. 51.*

"Company I was sent at the beginning of the action to the west of the field, where they remained during the day, much of the time sustaining a heavy fire from the enemy, who were secreted under a high bank, on the south side of Sand creek. . . . Companies B, G, and K, moved across the creek and went into the action on the north side of the creek and west of the Indian town . . . under heavy fire from the enemy, who were concealed in rifle-pits in the bed of the creek. The action became general, and lasted from 6.30 a.m. until 1 p.m., when the companies divided into small squads and went in pursuit of the Indians, who were now flying in every direction across the plains . . ." *Hal Sayr, Major Commanding 2nd Battalion, 3rd Colorado Cavalry to Colonel George Shoup, Commanding Third Colorado Cavalry, Report of Major Sayr, 6 December 1864, "Massacre of Cheyenne Indians," 52.*

" . . . companies D and E . . . moved to the right, across the hill, for the purpose of killing Indians that were making their escape to the right of the command, in which movement we succeeded in killing many. I then made a detail from company D . . . and sent them to capture some twenty (20) ponies, which I could see some four (4) miles to the right of the village; but before they reached the ponies some twenty Indians attacked them . . ." *T.G. Cree, Captain Commanding 3rd Battalion, 3rd Colorado Cavalry to Colonel George L. Shoup, 6 December 1864, Camp Skedaddle, "Massacre of Cheyenne Indians," 53.*

"When I got to the creek I saw Big Head, Crow Neck, Cut-lip-bear and Smoke standing behind the bank, so I joined them. At first the soldiers fired at us, then mounted and followed the main body of Indians up the creek. We were in the west end of the village, not over 100 yards from the lodges; the cr[ee]k ran north of the village at this point and the people were running up it to the north. . . . We ran across the cr[ee]k toward a b [sic] high bank; but when we reached it soldiers came upon us again, from all sides. Big Head and the others continued to run west, but I, seeing the main party of people going north,

went in that direction with about 20 soldiers after me. Big Head and all s [sic] his party crossed the hill . . ." *Little Bear, Bent-Hyde Papers*.

"Question. Did you receive any orders . . .

"Answer. I received orders from Major Anthony to move my company to the left, to the bank of the creek, and there remain until further orders, so as to be out of danger of the fire from Colonel Chivington's command.

"Question. Question. State how long after the battle began you received the order . . .

"Answer. But a few minutes.

"Question. Did you receive any other orders . . .

"Answer. . . . Was hallooed at by some one in the third regiment battery to get out of the road, as they were going to open fire. . . .

"Question. Did you move from the position . . .

"Answer. I did move from the position. I was hallooed at by some one, . . . to get out of the road, as they were going to fire the battery." *Second Lieutenant Joseph A. Cramer, veteran battalion first Colorado cavalry, 28 February 1865, "Sand Creek Massacre," p. 63.*

"Question. On which bank of the creek did you first take position after the battle began?

"Answer. On the north.

"Question. How long did you remain on the north bank of the creek?

"Answer. During the fight.

"Question. How far did you move from the position first assumed by you during the fight, and in what direction?

"Answer. Up the creek perhaps three or four miles. . . .

"Question. What were the positions respectively of those bodies of soldiers of whom you have spoken as being endangered by each other's fire?

"Answer. On the opposite banks of the creek, nearly opposite each other, and but two or three hundred yards apart, and in no regular order . . ."

Second Lieutenant Joseph A. Cramer, veteran battalion first Colorado cavalry, 28 February 1865, "Sand Creek Massacre," p. 64.

"Question. How long was one portion of Colonel Chivington's command under fire of another portion, and what portion in number was so under fire of another portion?

"Answer. I could not state how long; at different times during the fight. Companies were firing a cross-fire opposite each other.

"Question. What part of the field did this occur? Please describe particularly.

"Answer. It occurred when the Indians were retreating up Sand creek, the command pursuing them on each side. It was at a bend about a mile and a half above the village. . . ."

James Dean Cannon, first lieutenant first New Mexico volunteers, company K [on duty at Fort Lyon since ca September 1864], "Sand Creek Massacre," p. 114.

"But I saw parties of men scattered in every direction, pursuing little bands of Indians. . . .

. . . I think that probably there may have been about 60 or 70 warriors who were armed and stood their ground and fought." *John S. Smith, U.S. Indian interpreter and special Indian agent at Fort Lyon, 14 March 1865, "Massacre of Cheyenne Indians," p. 8.*

"By this time the Indians had fled; had scattered in every direction. The troops were some on one side of the river and some on the other, following up the Indians. . . . The balance of the troops were scattered in different directions, running after small parties of Indians who were trying to make their escape. . . ." *John S. Smith, U.S. Indian interpreter and special Indian agent at Fort Lyon, 14 March 1865, "Massacre of Cheyenne Indians," p. 5-6.*

"[T]he engagement became general, we constantly driving the Indians, who fell back from one position to another for five miles, and finally abandoned resistance and dispersed in all directions and were pursued by my troops until nightfall. . . ." *J.M. Chivington to General _____, Second Report of Colonel Chivington, 16 December 1864, "Massacre of Cheyenne Indians," p. 49.*

DESCRIPTION OF THE RIFLE PITS AND THE CREEK BANK AREA(S)

It appears from the descriptions that many of the village occupants ran from the lodges into the creek bed, where they hid along and under the high creek banks. Farther up the creek bed, they dug pits in which to hide. The area around the pits sustained heavy fire, and so would be an area of high potential for artifacts. The first fourteen entries are in order of the estimated distance, from near the camp to several miles away. The emphasis in bold has been added.

"The cavalry were around on the different hills firing at the Indians; the Indians had left the village and taken to the banks of the creek; they got under the banks of the creek, I suppose, to keep out of the road as much as possible, **within fifty yards** or thereabouts." *Corporal James J. Adams, company C, veteran battalion first Colorado cavalry, 4 April 1865, "Sand Creek Massacre," p. 149.*

"The bed of Sand creek ran right up; there was little or no water in it at this place. Then they [the Indians] came to some breaks in the banks about where the troops overtook them, and the slaughter commenced; I suppose **about three hundred yards** above the main village. . ." *John S. Smith, 8 March 1865, "The Chivington Massacre," p. 41.*

"Question. . . . [W]here did these women and children lie? . . .

"Answer. . . . [T]hey were lying under the bank, I should judge from **a quarter to a half a mile** above the village. . . .

"Question. . . . [H]ow many Indians did you see . . .

"Answer. . . . [T]hey were lying pretty thick; one place in particular. They were lying under the bank on the bed of the creek, right at the foot of the bank. I should judge those were all about a quarter of a mile up the creek, above the village." *Corporal James J. Adams, company C, veteran battalion first Colorado cavalry, 4 April 1865, "Sand Creek Massacre," p. 151.*

"The Indians . . . speedily rallied and formed a line of battle across the creek, **about three-fourths of a mile** above the village. . ." *J.M. Chivington to General _____, Second Report of Colonel Chivington, 16 December 1864, "Massacre of Cheyenne Indians," p. 49.*

". . . Lieut. Dickson and others saw about fifteen or twenty Indians withdraw from the rifle pits about **three fourths of a mile to a mile** above camp. . ." *Morse Coffin, letters to The Colorado Sun (Greeley, Colo.) Dec. 1878 - Feb. 1879.*

"There were a great many of them [rifle pits], I did not count the number; they were deep enough for men to lie down and conceal themselves, and load their guns in; some of them I should think were deeper than three feet. They were under the banks and in every possible place where any degree of concealment could be afforded in the bed of the creek. They were all in the bed of the creek. I saw none on the high prairie. They were above the village.

“Question. You say you saw some similar holes at a former and abandoned camp of Indians; state how many of these holes you saw, and if these holes are not common in the Cheyenne camps, constructed for domestic purposes?

“Answer. In all Indian villages in which I have been, they usually dug holes for the purpose of cooking meat. Those holes are dug in the village, in the confines of the village, near the lodges. They do not go **a mile or a half mile** from camp; but these holes I saw were not for cooking purposes, unless they cooked on a larger scale than any Indians I ever saw or knew.” *Stephen Decatur, commissary sergeant, company C, third regiment of Colorado cavalry, 8 May 1865, “Sand Creek Massacre,” p. 199.*

“Finally, **about a mile** above the village, the troops had got a parcel of the Indians hemmed in under the bank of the river; as soon as the troops overtook them, they commenced firing on them; some troops had got above them, so that they were completely surrounded. There were probably a hundred Indians hemmed in there, men, women, and children; the most of the men in the village escaped. By the time I got up with the battery to the place where these Indians were surrounded there had been some considerable firing. Four or five soldiers had been killed, some with arrows and some with bullets. The soldiers continued firing on these Indians, who numbered about a hundred, until they had almost completely destroyed them. I think I saw altogether some seventy dead bodies lying there . . . There were not over two hundred troops in the main fight, engaged in killing this body of Indians under the bank.” *John S. Smith, U.S. Indian interpreter and special Indian agent at Fort Lyon, 14 March 1865, “Massacre of Cheyenne Indians,” p. 6.*

“There were also good positions for defence for **at least one and a half to two miles** above the village, and these the enemy made good use of. It was along the banks of the creek, but more especially the west bank, that most of the fighting took place.” *Morse Coffin, letters to The Colorado Sun (Greeley, Colo.) Dec. 1878 - Feb. 1879.*

“The two companies [G and I] then fought the Indians up the south side of the creek for **about two (2) miles**, and at this point many of the Indians took refuge in the banks of the creek, where they had prepared rifle pits. . . . His brave company killed twenty-six Indians in one pit . . .” *George L. Shoup, colonel third Colorado Cavalry to Col. J. M. Chivington, Commanding District of Colorado, 7 December 1864, in the field, “Massacre of Cheyenne Indians,” 51.*

“**About 2 ms** up the cr[ee]k I came where the people were, with breastworks thrown up on the bed of the cr[ee]k. . . . After we got onto the holes not many of us were killed . . .” *Little Bear, Bent-Hyde Papers.*

“Our party was at the west end of the camps, not one hundred yards from the lodges. At this point the creek made a bend, coming from the north and turning toward the southeast just at the upper end of the village. As the soldiers began to advance, we ran across to the west side of the creek to get under another high bank over there, but just as we reached this bank another body of cavalry came up . . . I started running up the creek . . . but I had not gone far when a party of about twenty cavalymen got into the dry bed of the stream behind me. They chased me up the creek for **about two miles** . . . and [I] came to the place where a large party of the people had taken refuge in holes dug in the sand up against the sides of the high banks.” *Little Bear quoted in George E. Hyde, Life of George Bent: Written From His Letters, p. 153-154.*

“ . . . then [I] rushed out [of my lodge] and joined a passing group of middle-aged Cheyenne men. They ran toward the west, away from the creek, making for the sand hills. There we made a stand, but troops came up on the west side of the creek and opened hot fire on us; so after a short time we broke and ran back toward the creek, jumping into the dry bed of the stream, above the camps. Hardly had we reached this shelter under the high bank of the creek when a company of cavalry rode up on the opposite bank and opened fire on us. . . . We ran **about two miles** up the creek, I think, and then came to a place where the banks were very high and steep. Here a large body of Indians had stopped under the shelter of the banks, and the older men and women had dug holes or pits under the banks, in which the people were now hiding. . . . Here the troops kept us besieged until darkness came on. They had us surrounded and were firing on us from both banks and from the bed of the creek above and below us . . . ” *George Bent in George E. Hyde, Life of George Bent: Written From His Letters, pp. 152-153.*

“**About two miles** above the camp we came on the main body of Indians, who had dug pits under the high banks of the creek and were hiding in these holes . . . with troops on both sides of the stream firing in upon them . . . the main fight took place where I was, in the pits. The stream here flowed over a wide bed of level sand; banks several feet high rose on each side, and under these banks we were hiding in our pits.” *George Bent, “Forty Years with the Cheyennes.”*

“They had excavated trenches under the bank of Sand Creek, which in the vicinity of the Indian camp is high, and in many places precipitous. These trenches were two to three feet deep, and, in connection with the banks, were evidently designed to protect the occupants from the fire of an enemy. They were found at various points extending along the banks of the creek for **several miles** from the camp . . . ” *Col. J. M. Chivington, “Massacre of the Cheyenne Indians,” p. 102.*

“Quite a party of Indians took position under the bank, in the bed of the creek, and returned fire upon us. We fought them about seven hours, I should think, there being firing on both sides.” *Major Scott Anthony, 1st Colorado cavalry, 14 March 1865, “Massacre of Cheyenne Indians,” p. 16-17.*

“Upon my nearing the camp upon the west side I was attacked by a small force of Indians posted behind the bank of the creek, who commenced firing upon me with arrows . . . ” *Scott J. Anthony, Major First Colorado Cavalry, Commanding Battalion, to A.A.A. General, in the field, 1 December 1864, “Massacre of Cheyenne Indians,” P. 54.*

“ . . . ordered to cross Sand creek to right side of the bank. There I received so very galling a fire from the Indians under the bank and from ditches dug out just above the bank . . . ” *Presley Talbot, was captain company M, third regiment Colorado cavalry , 1865, “Sand Creek Massacre,” p. 207.*

“ . . . a large part of the force started up the right bank of the creek at a lively rate; about this time, the artillery threw a shell which burst in the air, perhaps a hundred feet or more. . . . After a short dash, we halted and dismounted . . . The creek bank at this place was abrupt, and perhaps four to six feet high. . . the boys ran up very near the bank, stooping and dodging up and down to avoid arrows, which came plentifully from under the bank . . . It was only now and then one of these Indians was to be seen, and it is believed most of the arrows were discharged at guess, by the holders throwing their bows

above their heads while their backs were towards us.” *Morse Coffin, letters to The Colorado Sun (Greeley, Colo.) Dec. 1878 - Feb. 1879.*

“ . . . when the artillery opened there was a general scattering for both up the creek and to the banks, especially to the west bank, which a mile above the village was ten or fifteen feet high. Under this bank the Indians gathered in large numbers and excavated pits, (many claim these rifle pits were prepared before hand, but this has never been my opinion) which gave them a strong position. But after a while the artillery dropped shells among them, which was the only way they could be reached except to our disadvantage.” *Morse Coffin, letters to The Colorado Sun (Greeley, Colo.) Dec. 1878 - Feb. 1879.*

“Along the east bank of the creek, where some of the first fighting took place, but few dead Indians were found. Some were scattered along the bed of the creek on the sand, while most were along the west bank and in the rifle pits. . .” *Morse Coffin, letters to The Colorado Sun (Greeley, Colo.) Dec. 1878 - Feb. 1879.*

“Late in the afternoon . . . the captain of company “I” (his name I think was Buchanan) sent to Col. Chivington requesting that the artillery be sent to shell the enemy from the pits up the creek . . . but the request was not complied with, which was no doubt on account of a scarcity of ammunition for the guns, as it had run low.” *Morse Coffin, letters to The Colorado Sun (Greeley, Colo.) Dec. 1878 - Feb. 1879.*

[Early in the action most of the Indians] “had left their camp and fled to the banks of the creek for better protection in the brakes, which were protected by a series of conical elevations with narrow deep brakes, running into the main channel. [Mansell and few others] spurred our horses to a fast gallop up a small elevation within about 200 yards of the next brake. There to our surprise about one hundred or more of the redskins opened fire on us. [After ending the fighting there] [f]rom here we joined Major Anthony on the west side, where he had a number of Indians surrounded in the brakes. Nature never cast a place so well suited for their defense, although it was a death trap for them. . . . [T]he battery was ordered to the scene on the east side where he had a good range, and commenced throwing shells in their stronghold . . .” *David C. Mansell, company A, 3rd regiment, in “When the Indians were Tamed at Sand Creek.” Winners of the West, 15 December 1925 or 26.*

“[T]he Indians had deserted their camp when they saw us come up over the brow of the hill and concealed themselves in the sand along the banks and in the bed of the creek and wherever else they could find any hiding places. The creek at that point was nearly a quarter of a mile in width and its banks were from six to fifteen feet high. Arriving at the point for which we had set out, we discovered about thirty of the savages huddled together in trenches, or holes which they had dug in the east bank of the creek. We could not see them [Horner’s company was on the east bank], but we knew they were there, and holding our guns over the bank as far as possible, muzzles down, we proceeded to shoot into them. . . . Along about the middle of the afternoon the howitzers were brought up to the bank of the creek opposite a point where a lot of savages had burrowed into the sand and were lying in hiding, and opened fire. The execution was terrible. . . . we rode further up the stream in the afternoon and continued the bloody work there. A lot of the savages had burrowed into the sand in the bed of the creek at this point and were lying there when we rode up, as motionless as so many logs. But by watching the sand closely we were able to detect precisely where the redskins were concealed. If a little mound of sand looked as if it had been newly made we guessed that an Indian was concealed in it,

took careful aim and fired.” C.B. Horton, “Survivor Tells of the ‘Chivington Massacre,’” 24 July 1903.

“The Indians took a position in the bed of the creek, which was from 200 to 500 yards wide. The banks upon the side of the creek were two or three feet high, in some places as high as ten feet; the bed of the creek was of sand, and perfectly level. The Indian warriors took their position right along the bank, dug holes in the sand in which to secrete themselves, and fired upon our men in that way. We fought them there. While the women and children were escaping, the men stood under the bank and fought us all day.” Major Scott Anthony, 1st Colorado cavalry, 14 March 1865, “Massacre of Cheyenne Indians,” p. 22.

“After the engagement began, the Indian warriors concentrated along Sand Creek, using the high banks on both sides as a means of defense. Sand Creek at this point is about two hundred yards wide, the banks on each side of which are almost perpendicular and from six to twelve feet high.” Irving Howbert, company G, 3rd Regiment, *Memories of a Lifetime in the Pikes Peak Region*, 1925, p. 124.

“The Cheyenne girl you speak of that was captured at Sand Creek, her and her sister, father and mother were all in the same hole with me and others. After 19 or 20 persons all together. . . The troops were coming near us when myself and two others, Spotted Horse and Bear Shield, jumped out of the hole. . . I was wounded after getting out of pit. We ran to the pit where Black Kettle and his party were.” George Bent letter to Col. S. F. Tappan, Washington, D.C., February 23, 1889 (George Bent letter, Colorado Historical Society).

“Question. Did the Indians try to shelter themselves from the fire of Colonel Chivington’s command? . . .

“Answer. They did; by digging holes under the banks and in the top of the banks in the sand.” James Dean Cannon, first lieutenant first New Mexico volunteers, company K [on duty at Fort Lyon since ca September 1864], “Sand Creek Massacre,” p. 111.

“Question. Had the Indians prepared any rifle pits . . . on your arrival at the village . . .

Answer. They must have done it, as there were holes longer and deeper than they could have dug after we attacked them in the morning. That is my honest opinion.

“Question. Describe the rifle-pits . . .

“Answer. They were dug under the banks, and in the bed of the creek, and, in fact, all over, where there was a little mound or bunch of grass or weeds favorable for concealment. They were dug with hoes or shovels large enough for a man to operate in, from three to four feet wide, some six feet long and longer. That is my recollection of it now. I did not measure them. I thought at the time they must have been dug, for the reason that at the first camp from the battle-field I found some of the same kind of pits, where they (the Indians) had camped quite recently before. . .” Stephen Decatur, commissary sergeant, company C, third regiment of Colorado cavalry, “Sand Creek Massacre,” p. 196.

“Jack Smith was said to have been for several months in the south in the Confed. Service. He had learned there of rifle pits which the Indians had prepared at Sand cr. vill. were made at his suggestion. In fact, some time prior to the S. cr. fight Jack sent in word to Ft. Lyon for the troops to come out and he would lick the stuffing out of the whole of them. His confidence was due to his rifle-pits, no doubt.” Cragin interview with Milo Slater, September 16, 1903, Cragin notebooks, XLX, 21.

"At the point the Indians had chosen to fortify the dry bed of the creek was about 200 yards across the west bank. For 500 feet the bank was perpendicular to the height of from 12 to 15 feet, and along the base of the bank they had dug a trench four feet deep, throwing the dirt forward, which made a formidable breastwork. Back of the bank and under it they had dug large tunnels, 25 to 30 feet long, for the protection of the non-combatants. Along the top of the bank they had dug rifle pits about 50 feet apart, which would shield four or five men each." *Participant Cornelius J. Ballou quoted in "The Sand Creek Affair," National Tribune (Washington, D.C), 23 November 1905.*

[After the end of the fighting, Mansell wandered across the site.] "[W]e came to a deep dry brake bed, and only a narrow path led across it. Here, from the signs of the ground, a desperate battle had taken place . . . Some seventy-five or one hundred of the dead . . . lay . . . in the bed of the break." *David C. Mansell, company A, 3rd regiment, in "When the Indians were Tamed at Sand Creek." Winners of the West, 15 December 1925 or 26.*

"I did not see any rifle pits." *Second Lieutenant Joseph A. Cramer, veteran battalion first Colorado cavalry, 28 February 1865, "Sand Creek Massacre," p. 50.*

"I have recently been over the battle-field of Sand creek; I saw no evidences of any intrenchments." *Major Wynkoop, 9 June 1865, "The Chivington Massacre," p. 77.*

LENGTH OF MASSACRE SITE

Entries are in order by distance, from two to ten miles.

"The troops . . . followed the Indians up the creek two or three miles firing on them . . ." *John S. Smith, 8 March 1865, "The Chivington Massacre," p. 41.*

"Question. How large was the battle-ground?

"Answer. It was pretty extensive. We, I should think, went up the creek about three miles, as near as I could judge from the time we rode.

"Question. Did you ride all over the battle-ground?

"Answer. There was one portion of the battle-ground that I did not go on. John Smith had [already] recognized Black Kettle, Little Robe, and White Antelope, and the near approach of the night caused the lieutenant colonel to return to camp.

"Question. How far above the village did you see the dead Indians? •

"Answer. I commenced counting at the village and about three miles or thereabouts up the creek, and counted on my return those that lay upon the prairie." *Stephen Decatur, commissary sergeant, company C, third regiment of Colorado cavalry, "Sand Creek Massacre," p. 196-197*

"Question. How far did you move from the position first assumed by you during the fight, and in what direction?

"Answer. Up the creek perhaps three or four miles.

"Question. How far along the line of the creek did the battle extend?

"Answer. Perhaps three or four miles. . ." *Second Lieutenant Joseph A. Cramer, veteran battalion first Colorado cavalry, 28 February 1865, "Sand Creek Massacre," p. 64*

"The engagement later extended up this creek for three or four miles from the Indian encampment." *Irving Howbert, company G, 3rd Regiment, Memories of a Lifetime in the Pikes Peak Region, 1925, p. 124.*

"Question. What was the extent or area of the battle-ground where the battle of Sand creek was fought?

"Answer. I should think about four or five miles up the creek, and one or two each side." *Capt. S.S. Soule, 20 February 1865, "Sand Creek Massacre," p. 22.*

"[T]he engagement became general, we constantly driving the Indians, who fell back from one position to another for five miles, and finally abandoned resistance and dispersed in all directions and were pursued by my troops until nightfall. . . ." *J.M. Chivington to General _____, Second Report of Colonel Chivington, 16 December 1864, "Massacre of Cheyenne Indians," p. 49.*

"We fought them for about six hours, along the creek for five miles. . ." *Scott J. Anthony, Major First Colorado Cavalry, Commanding Battalion, to A.A.A. General, in the field, 1 December 1864, "Massacre of Cheyenne Indians," p. 54.*

". . . Indians were killed five and six miles from the village . . ." *Jacob Downing, major, first cavalry of Colorado, [also Chivington's attorney] "The Chivington Massacre," p. 69.*

"By this time the Indians were gathering along the bank of a sand creek about two hundred yards wide, with high banks on each side and generally perpendicular. The fight went on until three o'clock that afternoon along the banks of this creek and extended up the creek for eight to ten miles." *Andrew J. Templeton, Second Lieutenant of Company G, Third Colorado Volunteer Cavalry. "Life and Reminiscences."*

"The country for [illegible in copy] miles around the camp was scoured and the slaughter complete." *C.B. Horton, "Survivor Tells of the 'Chivington Massacre,'" 24 July 1903.*

"Some of the boys went a mile or so farther after a gang of ponies . . . We were now probably six or seven miles from the village, and so turned that way, driving before us the gang of ponies. Directly I turned off southwest towards Sand Creek. . . Before reaching the creek I discovered the ambulance and squad of men away south, and so turned that way." *Morse Coffin, letters to The Colorado Sun (Greeley, Colo.) Dec. 1878 - Feb. 1879.*

AMMUNITION (AND OTHER POSSIBLE ARCHEOLOGICAL ARTIFACTS)

This is not intended to be a comprehensive report either ammunition or possible artifacts; future team reports will address those topics. This information is provided since it appeared scattered throughout the documents.

"I was shot, with a ball about fifty to the pound . . . [The Indians would] fire arrows, shot muskets, and squirrel rifles." *Presley Talbot, was captain company M, third regiment Colorado cavalry, 1865, "Sand Creek Massacre," p. 207.*

"[H]e had a pistol in his left hand, and a bow with some arrows in his right. He got within about fifty yards of the company; he commenced shooting with his pistol, still in his left hand. . . ." *Alexander F. Safely, private, first cavalry of Colorado [had been a soldier for 3-1/2 years], 19 May 1865, "Sand Creek Massacre," p. 221-22.*

"Question. What property was captured there?

"Answer. . . . There were a great many lodges, which were all burned. There were a great many blankets; some bows and arrows, and I saw some few guns." *Major Scott Anthony, 1st Colorado cavalry, 14 March 1865, "Massacre of Cheyenne Indians", p. 23.*

"The Indians had left their lodges and property; everything they owned. . . I do not think more than one-half of the Indians left their lodges with their arms. . . . On their return he ordered the soldiers to destroy all the Indian property there, which they did, with the exception of what plunder they took away with them, which was considerable." *John S. Smith, U.S. Indian interpreter and special Indian agent at Fort Lyon, 14 March 1865, "Massacre of Cheyenne Indians," p. 6.*

"I did hear a conversation between Colonel Chivington and Major Anthony . . . [about Anthony demanding the Indians near Fort Lyon to turn in their weapons. Anthony said] they turned in some boys' bows, and some double-barreled shot-guns, and one Hawkins's rifle, which had no lock on it. He . . . gave them back their arms. . ." [Three Indians at the massacre] were firing bows and arrows. *Alexander F. Safely, private, first cavalry of Colorado [had been a soldier for 3-1/2 years], 19 May 1865, "Sand Creek Massacre," p. 220.*

". . . some few picked up their bows and arrows and lances as they left their lodges; the younger men did. . ." *John S. Smith, 8 March 1865, "The Chivington Massacre," p. 41.*

"I ran to our lodge where I found my bonnet, shield and quiver of arrows all ready. My father Bear Tongue had just been making a lot of arms to me. I had taken my pistol with me when I f went out after the ponies and now I took my other weapons. . ." *Little Bear, Bent-Hyde Papers.*

"I think it was before noon that the work of demolition of the enemy's village commenced. As many of the tepees as were required for the use of the wounded men were taken for that purpose, and the others, together with the many tons of Indian supplies which the village contained, were piled and burned . . . There must have been tons of dried buffalo meat, and large and numerous packages of coffee, sugar, dried cherries. . . saddles, bridles and lariats, robes and skins . . . numerous new axes . . . many well-filled medicine bags." *Morse Coffin, letters to The Colorado Sun (Greeley, Colo.) Dec. 1878 - Feb. 1879.*

"The white man had been armed with a rifle and a bowie knife, while the Indian had only a bunch of steel-pointed arrows." *C.B. Horton, "Survivor Tells of the 'Chivington Massacre,'" 24 July 1903.*

"If the redskins had been armed as well as we with breech loading guns, instead of muzzle loading rifles, I shudder at the outcome. . . . We picked up a few relics such as stone hammers, wampum beads . . . a tomahawk, scalping knife and a quiver pouch." *David C. Mansell, company A, 3rd regiment, in "When the Indians were Tamed at Sand Creek." Winners of the West, 15 December 1925 or 26.*

"[Irving Howbert's company was issued] "old, out-of-date Austrian muzzle loading muskets of a large bore and our ammunition consisted of paper cartridges from which we had to bite off the end when loading." *Howbert Collection, p. 74 in mss.*

"Col. Chivington showed himself in the midst of the fight, now making good use of his Spencer Rifle . . ." [George A. Wells?], "Correspondence." (Central City, Colorado) *Miners' Register*, letter dated 28 November 1864, published 4 January 1865.

"We threw several rounds of grape and canister at them . . ." *Sgt. Lucian Palmer, company C, veteran battalion first Colorado cavalry, under Major Anthony's command during massacre, 1 April 1865, "Sand Creek Massacre," p. 143.*

"The artillery stopped on the high ground looking up the creek . . . While we were running down the far bank the artillery opened up with grape and canister on a big bunch of Indians in the weeds beyond the village." P.M. "Lant" Williams (of Bennington, KS) in "Veterans of 1864 Revisit Scene of Indian Battle on the Banks of Sand Creek, Colo. 26 July 1908," *Denver Post* by C. E. Van Loan,

"The battery . . . now belched forth its thundering notes, and grape and shell told fearfully for a little time . . ." [George A. Wells?], "Correspondence." (*Central City, Colorado*) *Miners' Register*, letter dated 28 November 1864, published 4 January 1865.

"[Hawley's report contains three lists: the ordnance stores issued to the third Colorado cavalry, received back from the third, and the deficiency of the quantity of the stores. The research team's munitions report will discuss this in detail]." Charles C. Hawley, first lieutenant veteran battalion, first Colorado cavalry, district ordnance officer for district of Colorado, 24 February 1865, "Sand Creek Massacre," p. 34-37.

"The man had a Garibaldi musket . . ." Morse Coffin, letters to *The Colorado Sun* (Greeley, Colo.) Dec. 1878 - Feb. 1879.

". . . my gun – a Smith & Wesson carbine. . ." Morse Coffin, letters to *The Colorado Sun* (Greeley, Colo.) Dec. 1878 - Feb. 1879.

"Williams was armed with a large dragoon revolver . . ." Morse Coffin, letters to *The Colorado Sun* (Greeley, Colo.) Dec. 1878 Feb. 1879.

"At the time the Committee visited the field [June 8, 9, 1865] there were few traces of the dreadful carnage. A few trinkets, such as tobacco pouches, pipes, arms, &c., were picked up. A number of skulls lay scattered around—the only part of the skeleton which could not be carried off by the wolves . . . In one place lay the skeletons of a pony and dog, and close by a human skull." Lonnie J. White, ed, *Chronicle of a Congressional Journey: The Doolittle Committee in the Southwest, 1865*. Boulder, Colorado: Pruett Publishing Co., 1975. p. 27-28.

THE ROUTE SOUTH, AFTER THE MASSACRE

"The two nights the command passed on the battle ground were dismal in the extreme. The camp was in the form of a hollow square." Morse Coffin, letters to *The Colorado Sun* (Greeley, Colo.) Dec. 1878 - Feb. 1879.

"The night of the 30th the transportation arrived from Fort Lyon, which for several reasons gave joy to all. The wagon train now numbered 115." Morse Coffin, letters to *The Colorado Sun* (Greeley, Colo.) Dec. 1878 - Feb. 1879.

"We . . . destroyed the entire camp of the Indians, and then pushed rapidly in a southeasterly direction . . ." Scott J. Anthony, Major First Colorado Cavalry, Commanding Battalion, to A.A.A. General, in the field, 1 December 1864, "Massacre of Cheyenne Indians," 54.

"We went into camp right in the upper end of the Indian village; we remained there two nights and one day." Corporal James J. Adams, company C, veteran battalion first Colorado cavalry, 4 April 1865, "Sand Creek Massacre," p. 150

[When the soldiers left the massacre site on December 1] "Left camp 9 A.M. -- took the back track and camped tonight on dry creek 15 miles south of battle field . . . [The following day he noted that the] Dead and wounded sent to Fort Lyon -- Command went down Sand Creek to the [Arkansas] River -- Camped at Mouth of Sand Creek." [It is likely that his 15-mile mark thus is a point of geographical convergence of the trail that went to Fort Lyon and the creek route.] *Hal Sayre diary, December 1, 1864.*

"Dec. 1: Camped about 15 miles from battle ground on a water tributary [Rush Creek?] of the Sandy." *John Lewis Dailey, diary, Denver Public Library, Western History Department.*

[After the fight] "We laid in camp on Sand Creek; on the 30th of November the lodges were burnt; also their saddles and lodge-poles. We camped in Sand Creek, twelve miles from the battle-ground, the night of the 1st of December." *Sgt. Lucian Palmer, company C, veteran battalion first Colorado cavalry, under Major Anthony's command during massacre, 1 April 1865, "Sand Creek Massacre," p. 144.*

". . . I remained with Colonel Chivington's camp, and returned on his trail towards Fort Lyon from the camp where he made this raid. I went down with him to what is called the forks of the Sandy. He then took a due south course for the Arkansas river. And I went to Fort Lyon with killed and wounded, and an escort to take us in." *John S. Smith, U.S. Indian interpreter and special Indian agent at Fort Lyon, 14 March 1865, "Massacre of Cheyenne Indians," p. 11.*

"On the 1st instant [December 1], having sent the wounded and dead to Fort Lyon, the first to be cared for, and the latter to be buried upon our own soil." *J.M. Chivington to General _____, Second Report of Colonel Chivington, 16 December 1864, "Massacre of Cheyenne Indians," 49.*

"On the morning of Dec. 1st the whole command started on the back track, and went about fifteen miles toward Fort Lyon, where we camped for the night." *Morse Coffin, letters to The Colorado Sun (Greeley, Colo.) Dec. 1878 - Feb. 1879.*

NOTE: The above material generally consists of direct quotations organized according to subject. The following material is organized by the archival source, followed by a description and/or interpretation of the material (occasionally including direct quotations).

George Bent/George Hyde Maps, Norlin Library, University of Colorado at Boulder

George Bent, the half-Cheyenne son of William Bent and Owl Woman, was one of the survivors of the Sand Creek Massacre. George Hyde conducted correspondence with Bent over many years, and published articles and a book based on Bent's observations. Norlin Library, University of Colorado, Boulder, has 14 maps attributed to either George Bent or to George Hyde or both. These maps include: (Map A) one map showing a close-up view of the Indian encampment and the troop and Indian movements during the Sand Creek massacre; (Maps B, C) two maps that show the region and indicate the location of the massacre; (Map D) one map that shows the Arkansas River region, including the Indian Trail; and (Map E) one that shows the Cheyenne Indians' post-massacre campsite. Of the three maps (B, C, and D) that show the location of the Sand Creek Massacre or the trail intersection, two place the massacre north of the intersection of Sand and Rush Creeks, and one places it south of that junction.

Map A (Site Map): According to George Hyde, this map was drawn entirely by George Bent, and shows Bent's recollection of the soldiers' and Indians' positions at the Sand Creek massacre. Also depicted are the trails of the attacking troops, the Indian herds west of the creek, the place where the women and children were killed, the "pits" under the west bank of Sand Creek where the Indians made their stand, and the positions of the soldiers surrounding the pits. Although the map shows that the massacre took place at a bend in Sand Creek, it does not indicate where that bend is located within the larger configuration of the creek..

It is important to note that there are apparently two other Sand Creek Massacre site maps drawn by George Bent that look very similar. Each of the maps shows somewhat different features. Tom Baker's aerial archeological report includes one of these George Bent maps; David Halaas believes that this may be a map that Bent drew for George Grinnell (location of original?). This map, unlike the Bent map in the Norlin collection, shows the location of a spring in the vicinity of the Indian encampment. There is another Bent map in the collection of the Oklahoma Historical Society, which shows the location of gun emplacements.

Map B (North Bend Map): George Hyde notes that he sent this sketch map (which was traced from the earliest U.S. Geological Survey maps of the area, c. 1890) to George Bent, and asked him to note, among other things, the location of the Sand Creek massacre. It is believed that this map was drawn c. 1904. As noted in the last interim report, Bent identified the north bend (Rhoades/Bowen property) as the location of the massacre. According to his notes, George Hyde specifically questioned Bent about the location of this bend of the river being the location of Black Kettle's camp. Hyde noted: "The points on Sand Creek where running water is marked are numbered 1 and 2. I suggested to Bent that one of these points was the location of Black Kettle's camp; but he said no and marked the camp where shown on the map." The locations given by Hyde as "the points on Sand Creek where running water" can be found include the general vicinity of the Dawson bend (1), and the area approximately 5 miles north of the north bend.

Map C (South of Rush Creek Map): This map, also annotated by George Bent, places the Sand Creek massacre in a different location than identified in Map B. In this map, Bent places the massacre at a site well below (south) of the intersection of Sand and Rush Creeks. Hyde's notes accompanying this map read: "George Bent has marked on this map in his own hand. – Bent's Old Fort. Trail from Ft. Lyon to Sand Creek 'Battle ground, 1864' as Sand Cr. Trail continues to head Smoky Hill where the Indians camped after Sand Cr. . . ."

Map D (Upper Arkansas Map): A notation at the top of the map reads "Work Map – 1916 not accurate in all points." The accompanying notes are identified as "Notes on a Map of the Upper Arkansas." These notes indicate that this map was drawn by George Hyde, and that he used numerous historic resources in an attempt to accurately show the locations of sites along the river. One of Hyde's sources was George Bent. The map shows a trail from Bent's New Fort/Old Fort Lyon to the Smoky Hill Trail. Hyde describes the trail as follows:

An Indian trail ran from Bent's New Fort in a northeasterly direction to the head of the Smoky Hill River, crossing Sand Creek 30 miles from the fort. This was the trail the troops followed on their march to Sand Creek in November, 1864, and it is seemingly the same trail as the one shown on Lieutenant Parke's map, 1851. He [Parke? or Bent?] shows the trail coming from Sand Creek to the Big Timbers . . . (Bent-Hyde Collection, Folder 14, University of Colorado at Boulder Libraries)

Even though the map does not specifically identify the location of the Sand Creek massacre, it does show the trail used by Chivington's troops and, inferentially, that the massacre was located at a site north of the intersection of Rush and Sand Creeks. The map shows the trail crossing the "Nee Skah Res[ervoir]," and then paralleling the 4,000 ft. asl contour line shortly before it crosses Rush Creek. Although the reservoir was in existence when Hyde made his map in 1916, the man-made reservoir had not yet been built in the time of the massacre.

Map E (Post-Massacre Campsite): George Hyde described this map as follows: "This is another map I sent to Bent. He has marked on it the camp after Sand Cr and trail from the camp n-e to the North Smoky Hill . . ."

"To Visit Scene of Massacre, Veterans of Gory Conflict with the Red Skins at Sand Creek to Hold Reunion – An Organization Probably," *Colorado Springs Gazette*, November 8, 1904, p. 5, c. 1.

"Veterans of the most famous of all Colorado battles . . . are to visit once more the scene of that fierce conflict on its 40th anniversary this month. Among those from Colorado Springs and Colorado City who may visit the historic battleground are Irving Howbert, Anthony Bott, A.Z. Sheldon, Robert Finley, Henry Coby, and others. . . . L.H. Dickson and M.H. Coffin, of Longmont, have been appointed to make the arrangements . . ."

"Reunion of Indian Fighters, Veterans who Participated in Sand Creek Battle will Congregate on Scene July 14," *Colorado Springs Gazette*, June 25, 1908, p. 5.

"To commemorate the battle of Sand Creek . . . all surviving veterans who took part in the struggle will gather on the old battleground on July 14. A special invitation has been issued to all members . . . who had part in that affair, but the committee in charge, consisting of Captain H.M. Orahood, Sergeant Henry Blake, Lieutenant L.H. Dickson and H.M. Coffin and W.H. Dickens, and the instructions are to meet at the Union depot in Denver at 11 o'clock . . . on July 13 to take the train for Kit Carson. From there the trip of 25 miles to the battleground will be made in carriages, and two or three days will be spent in camping. From the southern part of the state the veterans will go by way of the Missouri Pacific to Chivington, 12 miles from the battlefield, and from there will go in carriages to join their old comrades in camp."

C. E. Van Loan. "Veterans of 1864 Revisit Scene of Indian Battle on the Banks of Sand Creek, Colo." 26 July 1908. *Denver Post*.

In the summer of 1908, four veterans reunited for a trip to the massacre site. Morse Coffin, 73, of Longmont; David Harden, of Fort Collins; W.H. Dickens, of Longmont; and P.M. "Lant" Williams, of Bennington, KS, the youngest at 63, traveled to the area. Also on the trip were two drivers, Paul and a "humorous friend," plus the newspaper reporter.

"As we rolled along, the driver assured us that he knew the exact site of the "battle ground," as the old-timers persisted in calling it. Paul had chased cattle all over that country – knew every inch of the Big Sandy with his eyes shut. It was Paul who dropped the first hint of the long argument to come.

"Was there any trees in that country when you was there?" he asked Williams.

"Trees?" said Lant. "Not a tree that I remember. . . ."

"Well," said Paul, . . . "they's trees all over there now. Big ones." . . . [After arguing, the veterans decided that there had been no trees near the village.] They also

decided that trees could grow in forty-four years, but I could see that they were by no means satisfied with Paul's battleground.

All the morning I opened and closed gates, and at last we came out on the open range near Sand Creek.

"See anything that looks familiar?" asked Paul.

"Not yet," said the veterans.

"Well this is where it was," said Paul. "This is the Nigger Charlie beef corral and that's where they tell me it come off. Right down there the other side of the trees."

The old men said it was not a bit like it. Paul . . . drove on to the south. In time we reached the Creaghe ranch . . . pronounce it "Cray." [Two Creaghe "boys" and their cowpunchers greet the group, and play a phonograph for them.] . . . What would he [Owen Wister] say to the canned music of a phonograph and on the old Double S Bar ranch, too?

Did Mr. Creaghe know where the battle was fought? Indeed, yes! Most certainly.

"Right down there on the flat, 'bout half a mile from here," he said. "Found a lot of arrow heads there once and there's bones up on the bluff the other side of the creek. Human bones. Yes, this is the place.

But Mr. Coffin did not think so. The ground did not "look right" to him. He thought it must be farther down the creek. Mr. Dickens took a long walk over the hills, inspected the "lay" of the creek bed, climbed the sand bluffs and returned silent and satisfied. Mr. Williams shook his head and Mr. Harden never said a word. [They eat lunch and proceed down the creek in the rain.] . . . At last Mr. Williams thought he recognized something but Mr. Coffin was implacable.

"Ain't this the place where we laid our overcoats before we charged?" asked Lant.

"It's similar, similar," said Mr. Coffin. "I'll not deny it's similar, but it ain't the same. We never fought over this ground."

Before night every man had found a site which pleased him. Paul still clung to the "Nigger-Charlie-beef-coral" delusion. Dick Creaghe gnawed his human bones with great relish. I had found a place . . . and so we had seven battlegrounds between us -- and a great misunderstanding. Before night we had eight, for we found a slow-tongued Irishman down the creek who wished to locate the scene of the fight just behind his windmill. [They spent the night at the Creaghe's ranch.] . . .

In the morning we found more battlegrounds and at last everybody was happy, for Mr. Coffin made the scenery "jibe" with his recollections. It was a good thing that four instead of forty of the old-timers turned up for the reunion, else there would have been forty battlegrounds and 400,000 arguments. The result is that before the visit of the survivors every man between Kit Carson and Chivington knew exactly where the fight took place. Now nobody is sure about it.

Dick Creaghe's bones turned out to be the bones of some "beef critter," and a long morning's search failed to disclose so much as an Indian bead or an arrowhead.

We left the site of the battlefield unmarked. . . .

Only his (the Indian's) trail remains -- the triple furrow winding in long curves across the rolling country, turning and twisting so as to cross the divides at the lowest point. Here in the middle furrow went the patient Indian pony, head and tail drooping. Here on either side dragged the lodge poles, cutting deep into the turf. . . .

C. Frost Liggett, "Pioneers," *Kiowa County Press*, April 5, 1940 (typed copy in "Sand Creek, Copies of Various Papers Relating to the Incident" (Lamar, CO: Big Timbers Museum, n.d.).

“COL. JOHN M CHIVINGTON . . . visited the town named in his honor, in the spring of 1887. We along with others, in company of the Colonel, visited the famous battle ground, and went over the scenes of that noted encounter . . . The battleground is located about 10 miles north of the town of Chivington, on Big Sandy Creek, at a point where the creek broadens out, into a flat sandy bed, near where the trail crosses. On the north side of the creek a small ravine enters, and near which the Chivington irrigation canal has been taken out. The clump of trees which later was on ‘Negro Charley’s’ claim lies just west of where the death struggle took place. The colonel made an address, telling of the battle and incidents leading up to it. This was published in *The Chivington Chief* which was later merged in the *Kiowa County Press*. I think this was the second issue of volume one, some 53 years ago. These early files of the paper have been lost or destroyed, much to our regret. The victims of the battle were all buried in one grave, on the south bank of the stream. The Creek bed was dry sand at this time.”

Denver Public Library, Western History Department, “Silas Soule Papers, 1861-1865”

This collection of papers includes letters written by Soule to his family in the East, describing his experiences at Fort Lyon and at the Sand Creek Massacre. These letters also confirm that Soule revisited the site on January 1, 1865, but does not include specific locational information.

National Archives (Denver), Military Records

War Department, Office of the Adjutant General, Regimental Descriptive Book, 1st Colorado Cavalry

These microfilmed records, which include special orders, did not include specific information on the location of the Sand Creek Massacre. It does include Special Order 245, Ft. Lyon, December 29, 1864, noting that Captain Silas S. Soule “will report to this post for scouting party tomorrow at 8 o’clock. Soule will see that his command is well-mounted, armed, & equipped & supplied with 5 days’ rations . . .” This may have been the trip that resulted in Soule being at the Sand Creek Massacre site on January 1, 1865.

Returns from U.S. Military Post, 1800-1916, Ft. Lyon, Co., August 1860-December 1869

These records (Microfilm Roll 659) include the note: “There are no returns for the periods December 1863 - March 1864, May - December 1864, and April - June 1865.”

SOURCES FROM PEOPLE WHO WERE AT THE SITE WITHIN FIVE YEARS AFTER THE SAND CREEK MASSACRE

Lt. Samuel Bonsall: “Journal of the march of a detachment of ten men heading to the Garrison of Fort Lyon, C.T., under the command of Lieutenant S.M. Bonsall, 3rd Infantry, from Old Fort Lyon, C.T., to Cheyenne Wells, pursuant to S.O. No. 66, Hdqrs. Fort Lyon, C.T., June 15, 1868.”

To date, Lt. Samuel Bonsall’s 1868 map of the Sand Creek massacre is the most contemporary map of the massacre site, and is one of only five maps that has been found that identify the location of the Sand Creek massacre. (The other maps are the Baumbach map, drawn several years after the massacre, and the three George Bent/George Hyde maps: B, C and D.)

The Bonsall map/journal is also important in that it includes specific landmarks and mileage markers. We have compared Bonsall’s map and journal to contemporary U.S.G.S. maps and Glenn Scott’s map of historic landmarks and trails in southeastern Colorado. Following is part of Bonsall’s journal, with our notes – in brackets – comparing the mileage and landmarks:

[This portion of the journal describes the northbound trip from the intersection of Sand and Rush Creeks. On the journal, this text reads from bottom to top.]

“*[Leaving Ft. Lyon]* Road good – runs over high prairie nearly level, with a slight ascent, road is so high and well drained that it would not be much effected by rain. No wood or water – grass short – buffalo.

“Halted at this point five hours to graze the animals. *[This is the intersection of Rush and Sand Creeks, also identified on the map as Greenwood’s Camp.]* Roads good in dry weather, basins *[Neeskah Reservoirs?]* would hold water in wet weather, and in very rainy weather would be impossible. Plenty of good water in Rush Creek, also water in pools in Sand Creek where the road approaches nearest to it. From the point where the road runs nearest to Sand Creek, to Greenwood Camp, the road shows signs of having been overflowed to the depth of from two to four feet. Plenty of driftwood near Greenwoods Camp – grass good – a few small cottonwood trees on Sand Creek.

“*[Bonsall’s map shows that the intersection of Sand and Rush Creeks is 19 miles north of Ft. Lyon, and 11 miles south of the Sand Creek Massacre. Actual mileage is 23.5 miles north of Ft. Lyon and 12.5 miles south of the Dawson bend. However, the distance between Ft. Lyon and the Sand/Rush intersection is approximately 19 miles, if counted from the outside border of the Ft. Lyon military reservation (rather than the flagpole).*

The Bonsall map also shows that two “basins” are located approximately 8 miles from the Sand/Rush intersection. The Neeskah Reservoirs are approximately this distance from that confluence.]

“For three or four miles after leaving Greenwoods Camp *[heading north from the intersection of Sand and Rush Creeks]*, the road has been overflowed, the balance of the way high and dry. There was no water in the Creek at Camp No. 2 *[This camp is directly south of the Sand Creek Massacre. It is also at this point that the road crosses Sand Creek]*, found plenty of good water by sinking a box *[archeological remains?]* in the sand in the bed of the creek. Above the crossing, there are a few stunted cottonwood trees

along the banks of the stream. [*Bonsall shows this as the site of the Sand Creek Massacre.*] No water to be found between Greenwoods Camp and the crossing without digging. Grass excellent at the crossing.

“Road good, water can be found by digging in the bed of the stream. Grass good. Small cottonwoods along the banks of the stream. [*This description includes the massacre site and the area to the north. Also Bonsall depicts the massacre as a line – rather than a point – which may indicate, based on his mileage markers, that the massacre site is approximately two miles long.*]

“At Three Forks [*Bonsall shows Three Forks being six miles north of the south edge of the massacre site*] the left hand road crosses the creek and leads in the direction of Denver, an ox train from the Arkansas bound for Denver had lately passed over this road. The right hand road is the direct and shortest road to Cheyenne Wells, but thinking it bore too much East we took the center road, which after following for a mile was lost, we then went due North by the compass, over a high prairie, with a gradual ascent, very little broken (?), and struck the Old Butterfield Stage Road eight miles from Three Forks, and sixteen miles from Cheyenne Wells, No wood or water. Grass poor. [*We used Glenn Scott’s historical map to make the following calculations: Starting at the south edge of the massacre site and following Sand Creek north for 6 miles – which may be the point Bonsall identifies as ‘Three Forks’ – and then going due north 8 miles, Bonsall would have intersected with the Butterfield Stage Road, as identified as such on Glenn Scott’s U.S.G.S map. From that point, following the stage road to the east, it would be approximately 16 miles to Cheyenne Wells.*]

[*This portion of the journal describes the return trip from Cheyenne Wells, heading south. This description is on the top portion of the journal; it reads from the top down.*]

“In returning from Cheyenne Wells June 19, 1868, we took the road farthest East, left the main Denver Road about three hundred yards West of the Station, and followed the Old Butterfield Road for four or five miles, then turned to the left, it is difficult to tell where this road leaves, as it is not plainly marked until you have gone some two hundred yards from the other road. From thence to the crossing of Sand Creek, a distance of twenty-six miles, being four miles shorter than the road by which we went, the road is in excellent condition, there is no part of it so rough as to prevent an army team from trotting over. No wood or water until you reach Three Forks, Grass good.”

Overall, the Bonsall map indicates that the massacre occurred in the vicinity of the Dawson bend. The only major discrepancy in the mileage is the distance between Ft. Lyon and the intersection of Rush and Sand Creeks. However, all the landmarks between that intersection, the Dawson bend, and Cheyenne Wells match very well.

Cahill, Luke, “Recollections of a Plainsman.” Colorado Historical Society. MSS-XIII-5a

Luke Cahill was a non-commissioned officer in Co. A, Fifth U.S. Infantry, at Fort Lyon in 1868. According to his reminiscences, Cahill accompanied General William Sherman on his visit to the Sand Creek Massacre site in June 1868. Following are excerpts of Cahill’s recollections:

“Going back to the trail between Lyon and Wallace, it is well to mention that this was the great and main trail of the Indians from the Lower Canadian River to the headwaters of the Missouri River.

“At a place called Pond Creek between Fort Wallace and Cheyenne Wells the Indians had what they called a sacred burying ground . . . This burial place was not very far from the battleground of Sand Creek. It was about ten miles east of Cheyenne Wells but on the Colorado side of the State line (page 8).

“General Sherman made his appearance one day after inspecting all the Posts on the Pacific coast. He, too, had to have an escort to land him safe at Sheridan. First Lieutenant Bonsell of G Company, the United States Infantry, was detailed to take charge of the escort. The first thing that he did was to have your humble servant detailed to accompany him. . . . Our first camp was at old Fort Lyon twenty-two miles east of the present Naval Hospital and twenty-five miles from the great Sand Creek Indian Battlefield.

“Next day we arrived at the battleground around two o’clock p.m. After dinner General Sherman requested that all the escort hunt all over the battleground and pick up everything of value. He wanted to take the relics back to Washington. We found many things, such as Indian baby skulls of men and women; arrows, some perfect, many broken; spears, scalps, knives, cooking utensils and many other things too numerous to mention. We laid over one day and collected nearly a wagon load.

“It took one day from the battleground to the railroad. Arrived there, the General shipped the relics and bid us farewell forever. Very few of that escort are living today. I was the youngest in the command.

“We loaded our wagons at Sheridan and returned to Fort Lyon by way of Kiowa Springs (page 16).”

SOURCES FROM PEOPLE WHO WERE AT THE SITE BEFORE OR UP TO 35 YEARS (UP TO 1900) AFTER THE MASSACRE

Pre-Massacre Visits

Joseph A. Cramer, Second Lieutenant company G, First cavalry of Colorado, at Fort Lyon, August 12, 1864, to Maj. E.W Wynkoop.

Cramer reported to W. Wynkoop on a trip with a group from Fort Lyon (at least six men). The report describes five legs of the outbound trip, for a total of 45 to 52 miles one way in a generally northeast direction, with the last 20 miles following Sand Creek. The group camped "on Sand Creek at an Indian crossing, where 100 to 150 had crossed but an hour or two before we arrived, their trail leading southeast." Nothing in the report indicates that this site is the same as the massacre site.

Cragin notebooks, XXII, 29; unclear reference; someone repeating a story they had heard about Mrs. Ewbanks, who had been a captive of the Cheyenne.

"The Indians proceeded leisurely westward up the Republican valley having apparently no fear of the soldiers and camping sometimes for weeks at one place. On reaching Frenchman's creek, also called Whiteman's Fork, most of the Indians went north with the stock and other plunder, a handful of them proceeding with their captives to the Indian village on Sand creek, which they reached not long prior to the Chivington fight. Some of their scouts had seen Chivington's men going south from Denver, and asking where they were going, had been told that they were going south to fight the Texas Rangers. On reaching the village and conferring with Black Kettle and the other chiefs of the village, either from objections raised by the latter, or suspicious of the real intention of Chivington, they did not camp in the village but back over a hill well out of sight. . . ."

Henry Fluke biography in Stone, *History of Colorado*, Vol. IV, p. 239-40 (Clarke Co: 1918)

Henry Fluke's biography notes that he "has the distinction of having resided in Kiowa County for a longer period than any other resident and he is now filling the position of postmaster at Eads." Born in Iowa, he came to Colorado in March 1887, at the age of fourteen years old with his parents (John and Mary), who settled in the eastern part of Kiowa County. Henry Fluke became a teacher, but also homesteaded in Kiowa County. His biography notes that:

"His homestead is three miles south of the old Indian battle ground on Sand Creek. He has driven and walked all over the battle ground many a time, picking up cannon balls and arrows and other evidences of the hostilities that were there carried on."

This biographical information was reproduced in "Sand Creek, Copies of Various Papers Relating to the Incident" (Lamar, CO: Big Timbers Museum, n.d.), with the following notation: "The Fluke homestead was in Township 18S, Range 45W, 6th P.M., W1/2AW1/4 of 20 & W1/2NW1/4 of 29." This would place it approximately 3 ½ miles south of the Dawson bend. According to Dawson, the Fluke homestead is now owned by Larry Meeks.)

April 1887 application for a Post Office for the Village of Water Valley:

The application has a preprinted grid of township and section lines. The applicant (Melvin M. Tracy, the proposed post master) wrote in the names of the townships and ranges, marked the location of the proposed post office. The applicant also drew the course of the Big Sandy Creek. The course shown in the area around today's "South Bend" is farther south, and does not have a bend. The creek is shown cutting through the very southwest corner of Section 25, T17S, R46W, whereas today it makes a bend in the very northeast corner of that section. The reliability and accuracy of this sketch map is questionable. It is not known what the mapmaking skills were of Tracy, the applicant. In addition, Tracy was most concerned about applying for a post office, and not in locating the precise course of the nearby creek.

Enclosed with the application was a promotional brochure advertising a land sale at Water Valley, "destined to be a star in the galaxy of western cities." The map on the brochure shows the route of the Big Sandy within township lines. However, the townships are rather small and the sections are not shown. Thus, it is not easy to determine exactly where the creek flowed in the area.

A third map appears in the package. It is apparently part of 1890 follow-up documentation in which the Post Office Department asked the postmaster to show the precise location of the post office, to be used for mapping purposes. Again, a preprinted grid of township and section lines was provided on the document. The postmaster at Water Valley marked the post office in southeast quarter of Section 8, T18S, R45W. He also sketched in the Big Sandy Creek. Compared to the 1887 sketch map, the creek is shifted to the northeast, with the course leaving T17S R46W in Section 24, two miles north of the 1887 exit in Section 36. Again, the reliability and accuracy of a sketch map of the creek, apparently drawn by a postmaster to locate his post office, is questionable.

MAP: Ranching Settlement of East Central Colorado. Sheet No. 1. Ca. 1898.

This ca. 1898 map showing ranch land in east central Colorado clearly shows the sections and townships, along with creeks and towns. An unknown person has hand written several notations concerning locations of local features. One of these notations is "Battle of Sand Creek," located next to an "X" in the western edge of Section 6, T 19S, R45W. The site is about two miles east of the town of Chivington.

Miguel Antonio Otero, *My Life on the Frontier, 1864-1882*. (New York: The Press of the Pioneers, 1935). Includes the following: "Buffalo hunting attained large proportions at Kit Carson in the fall and winter of 1871. The Sherry brothers, Duke and William, were located on Big Sandy Creek, near the site of the present town of Chivington, Colorado. This town received its name because of the Chivington massacre . . . The dead Indians were not buried but were left by Major Chivington and his soldiers . . . In my visits to the vicinity, I would frequently find the skull of an Indian who had perished at the hands of this inhuman officer . . . (Chapter V, p. 47).

POST-1900 SOURCES ABOUT THE MASSACRE SITE, AND/OR GENERAL BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The following information is presented in chronological order.

1906

“Wm. Davis of the SS ranch a few days ago found the skelton of an Indian on what is known as the Chivington battleground. The battle occurred about 40 years ago; it is estimated that 800 Indians were killed and 40 wounded. Our troops lost 8 men killed and 40 wounded. The bones of the skeleton were too badly decayed to be preserved.” *Kiowa County Press*, 21 September 1906

1913

“Sheridan lake. Miss Eva Brooks, Mrs. Clay Parker, T.O. Carr, and S.R. Smith autoed to the Chivington battle ground Sunday and returned via Brandon taking supper at the hotel and returning in the evening. They witnessed a thrilling and daring exhibition of horsemanship on the part of J.W. Dawson, foreman of the SS ranch when he forced his horse to jump from a 30 foot cliff into the bed of Big Sandy Creek.” *Kiowa County Press*, 2 May 1913 (CP#135)

1935

The History . . . by John Nankivell identifies the Sand Creek Massacre site as being approximately five miles south of the town of Chivington. The book includes photographs of the site (Nankivell, p. 35).

1937

Montrose Press, Oct. 18, 1937: The article reported that on October 24, 1937, 11 troops of boy scouts from southeastern Colorado were going to re-enact the Sand Creek massacre. The article states that the “scene of the massacre is believed to have been nine miles northwest of here [Chivington]. . . No relic of the massacre can be found and the site of the battle remains indefinite, Reneau [the re-enactment coordinator] pointed out. Periodic flooding of Sand creek has washed away or covered all remnants of the slaughter.”

1960s

“Brandon:” . . . Mr. A.J. Ingram . . . enjoys reminiscencing about life on the Eastern Plains. His family was one of the early homesteaders to move to the Brandon area. They came in 1910 while he was still in school, and after finishing school in Brandon he filed on a homestead. “Most of the good land had already been filed on or bought up, so I filed on land adjoining the Big Sandy Creek. This is the same place that Col. Chivington attacked the Indians and the Sand Creek Massacre took place in 1864. I was there when the Chivington Irrigation Company was organized, and the headgates for the canal was partly on my place. *Roleta Teal Papers*, ca. 1960s-1970s (M76-1387) (*Roleta Teal was a local historian who wrote a series of papers published as articles in the Pueblo Chieftan*).

“\$200,000 Irrigation Canal:” The past has a way of leaving its mark for posterity, for driving over Eastern Kiowa County one can still see signs of a \$200,000 irrigation project that was built around 1910. A canal, with headgates built of wood and located on Big Sandy Creek, angled southeast for 20 miles to a lake just south of the town of Brandon. . . . The company was

organized and became known as the Chivington Irrigation Company with Mr. C. Underhill as president and G.H. Logan as secretary. . . . No one remembers when the project was abandoned, but it was in use until 1918 at least. . . . It was the biggest canal in Colorado up to that time and it was named after the Chivington Battle Grounds, where Col. Chivington surprised and massacred the Indians, on Big Sandy, which took place near the headgates of the canal. *Roleta Teal Papers, ca. 1960s-1970s (M76-1387)*

“Water Valley School:” . . . little one-room schoolhouse which is located in Eastern Colorado not far from where the Sand Creek Massacre . . . took place in 1864. *Roleta Teal Papers, ca. 1960s-1970s (M76-1387)*.

Ava Betz, Jeanne Clark, and Jack Hall interviews, *Pueblo Chieftan*, March 22, 1998.

In this newspaper article, Jack Hall again states that “he has no reason to believe the Sand Creek site is anywhere other than where it’s reputed to be. Even 50 or 60 years ago, it was considered to be the site,” Hall said.

This same newspaper article also quotes Ava Betz, editor of the *Lamar Daily News* and author of *A Prowers County History*, as saying that she believes the massacre is located on the Dawson property: “To tell you the truth, I’ve never heard anybody – the old-timers I interviewed for my book or in the research I did – indicate otherwise. There are a lot of pioneer accounts of people going out and searching for arrowheads. They all refer to an area that’s in that approximate vicinity. . . . Also, pioneers have been making a pastime of hunting for artifacts for generations. I’ve seen boards and boards and boxes of arrowheads. It was the big Sunday entertainment in the ‘30s. People didn’t have much money – these were salable to tourists. They went out and combed the sand hills and turned around and sold them.”

In the same article, Jeanne Clark, curator of the Big Timbers Museum in Lamar, stated: “Way back in the early 1900s, it was a favorite sport to go out and look for arrowheads. . . . People here have taken it (the massacre site) for granted. It boils down to their fathers and grandfathers took them out there. Every so often, you have to rely on your oldest citizens (for verification).”

Ava Betz, *A Prowers County History* (Lamar, CO: Big Timbers Museum, 1986)

The Holly Ranch (later known as the SS) was a major cattle ranch in southeastern Colorado, established by Hiram Holly in 1871. The first foreman of the ranch was Fred Pomeroy (who had been a participant in the Sand Creek Massacre). Between 1884 and 1902, H.A. Pettee was the foreman of the SS Ranch. According to *A Prowers County History*, during this time:

“Three sides of a pasture north of the river were under fence (the Arkansas forming the fourth side, one assumes), making 175 miles of fence. . . . That north pasture stretched from just west of Cheyenne Creek north 35 miles to Barrel Springs, west to ‘the Battleground’ (site of the Sand Creek Massacre) and south to the Arkansas along the border of A.R. Black’s property.” (page 282)

According to Betz, the north pasture fence was taken down in 1885, at which point homesteaders moved onto the pastures once controlled by the ranches.

Betz also reported that: “Goff and McCaffree in *A Century In The Saddle*, explain that during the decade of big round-ups, from about 1875 to 1886, the usual custom was to start the round-ups from Holly and work up-river along the Arkansas and north along the Big Sandy, or Sand Creek,

to the Chivington Battleground and Sheridan Lake area. Then the round-up would split – one-half continuing up the Big Sandy as far north as the divide between the Big Sandy and the South Fork of the Republican River, the other half working up Rush Creek to the present-day Calhan/Simla area . . .” (page 76).

State Engineer, State of Colorado, Division of Water Resources

Chivington Canal

As noted elsewhere in this report, local residents have stated that the Sand Creek Massacre site was in the vicinity of the headgates for the Chivington Canal. The headgates of the canal, which diverted water from Sand Creek, were in the SE ¼ of Section 24, Range 46 West, Township 17 South, 6th P.M. The canal diverted water into Chivington Reservoir No. 4, located south of the town of Brandon.

Based on records in the State Engineer’s office, the Chivington Canal was one of a number of canals and reservoirs constructed by the Chivington Canal Company. The company was organized as a for-profit corporation on May 9, 1909 to construct the following: Chivington Canal; Chivington Reservoir No. 1; Chivington Ditch Enl. & Exten.; Chivington Reservoir No. 3; Chivington Reservoir No. 1 Enl.; Chivington Reservoir No. 2; Chivington Res.-Outlet Ditch No. 4; and the Chivington Canal Feeder. “Albert Mayhew, et al,” of Lamar, Colorado, was the original claimant for all of these water rights. Mayhew, et al, filed these water rights in 1908. Within the year, Mayhew, et al, then conveyed those rights to M.L. Creaghe of Lamar, Colorado, who then conveyed them to the Chivington Canal Company. By 1912, approximately \$200,000 had been spent in construction work, at which time work was halted when the major contractor, R. Clough, filed \$33,000 in liens against the company.

In May 1916, the company was reorganized as the Chivington Irrigation Company, a not-for-profit mutual irrigation company; the stockholders were the landowners under the system who had bought water rights from the Chivington Canal Company. In 1918, Mr. Clough’s liens were discharged and the company began making plans to complete the system.

Ray Irrigation Ditch

Another irrigation canal in the area of study is the Ray Irrigation Ditch; its headgates were located on Sand Creek in Section 4, Township 17S, Range 46W, 6th P.M. The ditch diverted water to lands on Sections 14 and 24, Township 17S, Range 46W. The water rights for this ditch were filed in 1907 by Frank Oliver Ray of Pueblo, Colorado. “Map of Ray Irrigation Ditch,” Irrigation Division No. 2, Water District No. 67. State Engineers’ Office, Division of Water Resources, Denver, Colorado.

Thomas W. Killion, Scott Brown, and J. Stuart Speaker, “Naevahoo’ohsteme (We Are Going Back Home): Cheyenne Repatriation: The Human Remains” (Washington, D.C.: Repatriation Office, NMNH, Smithsonian Institution, May 10, 1992).

The report notes that Cheyenne human remains from the Sand Creek Massacre were sent to the Army Medical Museum on January 20, 1867, by Bvt. Major W.H. Forwood, Assistant Surgeon, U.S. Army, Ft. Riley, KS. The Army Medical Museum then gave these remains to the Smithsonian on January 7, 1904.

Herzog, Lillie A. "History of Kiowa County." Pages 186-188. *The Historical Encyclopedia of Colorado*. Thomas S. Chamblin, ed. [No city or state]: Colorado Historical Assn., 1957.

Herzog's article includes the following:

There are five reservoirs nine miles south of Eads . . . King Reservoir lies partly in Prowers County and partly in Kiowa. The other four are commonly called lakes: They were given Osage Indian names: Nee Sopah (Black Water); Nee Gronda (Great Water); Nee Noshe (Standing Water); Nee Skah (White Water). They are natural depressions and were not excavated but only leveed in places to hold water taken from the Arkansas River . . .

The famous Sand Creek Battle of November 29, 1864, took place about twelve miles north of Chivington. . . . This old battleground is a popular place to hunt arrowheads and other Indian relics. Old muskets, cannonballs, cooking utensils, grinding stones, etc., have been found.

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[Ca. 1869]. "Map of Utah and Colorado." Ordered by General William T. Sherman. Records of the Office of Inspector General. Letters Received and Sent by General James S. Hardie (1875-76). Miscellaneous Records. Records Relating to the Dakota, Montana and Modoc War Claims. Box #1, Entry 30, Record Group 159. [National Archives ?] (The map shows a trail/route from new Fort Lyon going in the direction of the headwaters of the Smoky Hill River. This route passes across the Big Sandy above the intersection with Rush Creek. Two basins are shown along this route leaving from new Fort Lyon; the Wool Station and the Kiowa Station are also marked on the route. However, the route that Chivington took left from *old* Fort Lyon; no route is shown leaving from that site.

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1897. "State of Colorado: Compiled from the Official Records of the General Land Office and Other Sources." Under the Direction of Harry King, C.E., Chief of Drafting Division. General Land Office. Department of the Interior. Bureau of Land Management, Colorado State Office.

Ca. 1898. [Ranching Settlement of East Central Colorado.] Sheet No. 1. Accession No. EP-74, M-92. Colorado Springs Pioneers Museum. (The map shows townships and sections, along with creeks, towns and railroads. Someone has hand written several notations concerning locations of local features. One of these notations is "Battle of Sand Creek," located next to an "X" in the western edge of Section 6, T 19S, R45W. The site is about two miles east of the town of Chivington.)

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